NATIONAL GUARDIAN

5 cents

the progressive newspaper

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A TIME FOR ACTION

The crisis deepens

IN the last GUARDIAN we suggested to our fellow-citizens of the America we love that the McCarthy circus in Washington is not as funny as it looks on the surface: that "it can be the harbinger of death and fascism."

Events have moved fast in the two weeks since then.

• The complete fraudulence of Sen. McCarthy's new witch-hunt became clear when his "secret witness," who is supposed to prove the State Dept. crawls with Russian spies, was named. He is none other than ex-Communist Louis F. Budenz, the eminent stooge who for three years now has been trailing around doing dirty little jobs on every decent person he ever knew—or didn't know.

• On evidence of confessed perjurers Harry Bridges, one of the few labor leaders left who work honestly, tirelessly and without personal enrichment for their membership, was sentenced to five years in jail. Such men are dangerous to the traitors to America who prefer their country's desecration to the loss of their super-profits.

• The Supreme Court refused to consider the appeal of the Hollywood Ten, whose crime was standing up for the American tradition that a man's political, religious or social beliefs are his own business.

• Viewing with pride the results of his five-year Presidency, in the midst of sordid and bloody Kansas City political scandals such as the heads of few other states in the world could survive, President Truman welcomed a new champion of "individual welfare" to Washington: Gonzales Videla, President of Chile. (An account of Gonzales Videla's concern with individual welfare is on page 10).

• The cold war warmed up to the point where the U. S. was sending a reconnaissance plane over Soviet territory (see p. 4).

• Ridiculing McCarthy as "impossible to libel," Truman took this contradictory step to prove the McCarthy-impugned "loyalty" of the State Department: He appointed as a top foreign policy adviser Republican John Foster Dulles, open pre-war admirer of Hitler and Mussolini, lobbyist for scrap-iron shipments to Japan up to the day of Pearl Harbor, and recent Senatorial candidate whose picture of "our children and grandchildren fighting their bloody way back" if the Fair Deal became a reality led to his rejection by the voters.

Of the Dulles appointment, the York (Pa.) **Gazette and Daily** said it was "an event which, if the American people can see straight, should show them in the clearest possible fashion that the Fair Deal is a fake, that professional anti-communism breeds reaction, that the two old parties are selling them out, that we are on the road to war abroad and fascism at home." The paper suggested that "we are reaching the point where friendship for fascism becomes the basis for 'loyalty.'" (See Jennings Perry, p. 6).

DO YOU HAVE FOUR FRIENDS, or even one friend, who will not believe that the U. S. is speeding toward war and fascism when the warning comes from progressives? If so, ask them to consider the developments of the past fortnight in light of what the cold-warriors and the business press are now saying.

• In Los Angeles this month C. D. Jackson, publisher of Henry Luce's **Fortune**, urged the American people to "get over their complex about shooting." Jackson, said the Los Angeles **Daily News**, was "frankly doubtful that Russia could be provoked into a war." If Russia won't start it, he felt, then we should: "The consideration should be, can the mission be safely accomplished?"

• In San Francisco on April 7, Gen. Ira C. Eaker, one of the top U. S. airmen in the last war, said (as quoted

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Your paper needs your help!

SEE PAGES 2 AND 3

John Foster Dulles: We're in again!

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DON'T FALL FOR A-BOMB JITTERS

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newspaper

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THE MAILBAG

Wallace and Stone

IRVINGTON, N.J.

Congratulations for finally bringing into the open some of the more basic policy dilemmas in the Progressive Party. May I raise some criticisms regarding the so-called conflicting approaches of Mr. Wallace and Mr. Stone?

I could not see that the two men differed at all. Mr. Wallace said "we shall have more and more socialism"; Mr. Stone said capitalism can be progressive "only by progressing steadily toward socialism." Mr. Wallace said the New Deal did not tackle fundamental issues; Mr. Stone said the (Roosevelt) Keynesian approach was not enough. Both men agreed that business men could not be depended on for abandoning what looked like their immediate self-interest.

May I criticize both for being "anemic?" Both refused to provide much-needed yardsticks for judging when and where old capitalism should be abandoned for socialist planning.

According to both men, it would seem that little of fundamental importance was accomplished by the New Deal. I would like to suggest that the New Deal had very fundamental repercussions; it gave us the shot in the arm needed to convince us there are fundamental problems, and only a Third Party can and must recognize them and tackle them.

Shirley Steinman

•

Wishful thinking

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Henry Wallace's "Meaning of Progressive Capitalism" seems to us to be a most excellent exhibit of what is known as wishful thinking.

"The capitalist system can be made to work." The evidence, Henry, where is the evidence?

"The greatest obstacle to putting over progressive capitalism is the lack of progressive capitalists." Well, Henry, we agree with you there. Any way you take it, there's no such animal as "Progressive capitalism" or "Capitalist progressivism," or "Democratic capitalism" or "Capitalist democracy." Capitalism drives against democracy right now . . . in China, in Greece, in Korea, in the United States, in France, in Italy. Capitalism drives against us, the common people, in Taft-Hartley enactments, and Mundt-Nixon attempts, and FBI snoopings, and Un-American Committees, and Bases of Empire, and smash-Russia propaganda.

Where the shoe pinches for us, Henry, is right where we live. In the shortage, for example, of decent houses wherein we may find shelter and nightly surcease from the daily speed-up if we have a job, or the daily grind of looking for one if we haven't.

And then there is the planned scarcity—for us—that "progressive" capitalism is so solicitous about: destruction of foodstuffs (a crime against humanity if there ever was one); the senseless accumulation of "surpluses" in the hands of the Commodity Credit Corporation — specifically "two and a half billion shell eggs taken off the market and spoiling owing to careless storage"; millions of pounds of cheese, of dried milk, of butter stocks "that end up in the soap kettle instead of on the dinner table," to say nothing of corn stocks to the amount of 26,700,000 tons (!) at the close of 1949, or of the export bonuses which allow for such fantastic operations as the selling of potatoes to exporters at the symbolical price of 1c per 100-lb. sack!

The way things are, Henry, all we who work for a living can expect of "progressive" capitalism is scarcity in the midst of plenty, warfare instead of peacefare. What capitalism, without adjectival trimmings and semantic overtonings, has to offer us — the common people — is "worse and more of it."

E. Pluribus Unum

PAID YOUR BILL?

The angels on our billform are cute, but please don't let the bill lie unpaid in your desk drawer. It's not that kind of collection piece. If you've received a bill you owe us a buck.

We need it.

•

Fallacy of profits

MIDLOTHIAN, TEX.

Count me on the side of I. F. Stone. Henry's progressive capitalism is hogwash, much as I admire him. You cannot make capitalism work due to the fallacy of profits. If the American people are not ready for socialism, then they will just have to go through enough hell until they are ready. We can only try to save them.

J. Hayden Moore Sr.

•

Galileo and McCarthy

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Once upon a time there were tne highest potentates of the Catholic Church who were mad at Galileo because he had spread the story that the earth was moving around the sun. This was of course scientific heresy to the Church. It interfered with its teachings, with the stories of the Old Testament and other legend. The persecution of Galileo tended to show that he was an emissary of the devil, some kind of spy or an agent (whether paid or not); anyhow a man doing the devil's work.

Today the McCarthys, the Bridgeses and similar political scientists are mad at all those who happened to write a little bit about the fact that there was a great revolutionary movement going on in China. They are mad because the earth is "moving" and keeping moving. This fact of life interfered with their primitive legend and sometimes with certain rackets.

A common American

•

What Kent said

AUSABLE FORKS, N.Y.

On my return from Europe as one of the American peace delegates I find, in your issue of March 22, in the article headed PEACE, the misquotation of a statement of mine in Moscow that, stemming from an error in translation transmitted by TASS, appears to have gained wide currency in the United States.

The speech was impromptu and was translated as I spoke by a young Russian at my side. It was then taken down in Russian and, from the Russian, subsequently retranslated into English. Somehow, at any rate, my statement became distorted. The correct version was as follows:

> As a member of this peace delegation and as a fighter for peace I must tell you that I am not an official representative of the American government. But I must add, in respect to my own integrity, that neither is the American government representative of me.

I did not make the obviously absurd statement that the United States government "is not my government."

All Americans, many of us with sorrow and shame, must admit that the government which is responsible for the Cold War and which has authorized the manufacture of the hydrogen bomb is our government, however little its barbaric policy may represent us. However, it is the right of American citizens, by constitutional means, to change that government; and the Progressive Party stands today as the people's best hope for changing it.

Rockwell Kent

•

Freedom for Hikmet

WASHINGTON, D. C.

I was very happy to see the GUARDIAN publish a poem by the great Turkish poet Nazim Hikmet, who has certainly been victimized by fascism as much as any man can be. I was disappointed though that his poem was not accompanied by a request to GUARDIAN readers to write to the Turkish Embassy and the State Dept. urging immediate release of this people's champion, a sufferer from angina pectoris contracted since he was sentenced in 1938 to 28 years solitary confinement in a Turkish prison. His crime was that he "subverted" the minds of the Turkish armed forces to communism because copies of his poems were found among army and navy personnel.

Our letters now can help save the life of this selfless spirit, whose smuggled poems still keep the hope of democracy alive in Turkey.

Marcia Bogart

Last week it was reported that Hikmet had gone on a hunger strike, to demand his release. He said that unless he won his freedom he would fast until he died. Ed.

Canard Enchaine, Paris

Spring

Report to Readers

Operation Bootstrap on—your lift is needed!

"OPERATION BOOTSTRAP"—aimed at bringing to life GUARDIAN reader organizations in more han 1,000 communities in all 48 states—is slowly but surely getting under way.

Already, in the space of a month, we have heard from hundreds of GUARDIAN builders in response to our first mailing on the project.

But there are hundreds of friends of the GUARDIAN who have not yet answered our "Operation Bootstrap" letter. The plan and materials for organization (plus a postpaid stamped envelope) may be lying on your desk or telephone table right nearby—unanswered!

PLEASE unearth your "Operation Bootstrap" letter this very evening—if you are one of those we addressed—and let us have your answer. It is ultra-urgent that this project succeed. As we pointed out in our original letter, if we can make this plan click we together will have accomplished the most fundamental job facing the progressive movement in America today—that of guaranteeing a reliable, independent medium of communication which progressives have lacked since the days of Appeal to Reason 40 years ago.

The letters excerpted below do not begin to show the breadth of organization already under way. But they do show the cooperative spirit with which the idea is being taken up.

SPEARFISH, S. D.

I will continue to do all I can to get new readers for the GUARDIAN and for the cause of peace. . . . John A. Jackson

FARGO, N. D.

Received your letter asking me to take charge of organizing a GUARDIAN Club in Fargo. I promise you to do my level best. R. H. Ramsey

BEREA, O.

Please do not interpret my silence up to this point as a lack of interest. Quite the contrary. I immediately called a meeting. We will all work on subscriptions. Edith C. Lawrence

EAU CLAIRE, WIS.

Relative to "Operation Boodstrap" . . . we will do our best to put it across. Clarence E. Hughes

BAY CITY, MICH.

I believe the O'Neils alone will be able to raise in the neighborhood of $100 in 1950. Instalment enclosed. John J. O'Neil

TOPEKA, KANS.

Mr. Talbot has just been returned from the hospital with a severe heart attack. I am apt to be for a long time out of circulation. However, I can telephone. . . . Helen J. Talbot

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

Mr. Maggio called me up after getting your letter and came over last night to help get out the mailing of our letter, which we mimeographed. . . . Among other little details, I just gave birth to my third child two short weeks ago. Jane E. Hodes

WEST PALM BEACH, FLA.

The GUARDIAN is our only source of real news, inasmuch as very little is printed in the local papers. . . . We agree to send you $10 each month. The money comes from a weekly silver offering which we take up to aid worthy causes, and we can think of no better cause than helping to keep the GUARDIAN going. Beatrice Stanhill

TACOMA, WASH.

I am enclosing a check for $25. Mrs. Spinell will carry on. Albert Kastner

HERMOSA BEACH, CALIF.

Thanks for your info sheet and letter. Very helpful. We will have a Club and meeting soon. My broken leg is just about well. I limp a little yet but I want to be very busy and helpful in GUARDIAN work. Lowell Hoxsey

WEST LAFAYETTE, IND.

At present my wife is in the maternity hospital. I will have a number of other responsibilities for a couple of weeks but will do the suggested organizational work as soon as possible. James P. Avery

ST. MARIE'S, IDAHO

The GUARDIAN is fine and getting better and we need it to be widely read in every community. We will do our best. At the monthly meeting yesterday we took up plans to raise more money and each one pledged to get one new subscriber. We also got several subscriptions at the meeting. $12.45 enclosed. John and Louise Dennis

RESPONSES like the above are already in our hands from readers all the way from Maine to Oregon. If "Operation Bootstrap" hasn't reached your community, drop us a postcard today. We will start things going your way. Or perhaps you can make a pledge like the following, and get things started on your own:

WANTED

500 pledges like this:

I pledge $10 a month for ten months to guarantee publication of NATIONAL GUARDIAN for the coming year.

Name ....

Address ....

$........ herewith.

Have you done your part?

1 — Look at these dates: **May 3 ~~10~~ 17 ~~24~~ 31**

X marks the weeks that a Fortnightly GUARDIAN won't come out . . . the weeks in which the GUARDIAN marks impatient time in the fight for peace and decency.

2 — Now ask yourself:

- Can I afford to let the GUARDIAN skip weeks in this fight?
- Do I know ONE MORE PERSON who should get the GUARDIAN?

3 — TODAY, right this minute, tear out the coupon at right and mail it with $1 and the name of a new subscriber.

Here is another $1 subscription to get the GUARDIAN back in the fight EVERY week.

Name ....

Street ....

City.......................... Zone.... State........

Sender's name ....

Address ....

NATIONAL GUARDIAN the progressive newspaper

17 Murray Street New York 7, N. Y.

The next two weeks will determine whether the GUARDIAN will be able to resume weekly publication beginning with the May 3 issue. Thousands of readers have already done their part—enlisting one or more new subscribers in this special "Every reader get a reader" drive to help us get back to being a weekly.

Special to the GUARDIAN
PITTSBURGH

THE people of Pittsburgh have learned in recent weeks what it is like to live in a police-state atmosphere. They move warily, mistrust their friends, seal their lips on any "dangerous thoughts." This pattern for a city of nearly 700,000 has been set by an ingratiating ex-insurance salesman, Matthew Cvetic, who—given a rostrum by the House Un-American Activities Committee—smeared as "communists" every Pittsburgh progressive whose name he knew.

At last count he had "identified" 287 persons.

Some ten years ago Cvetic became active in the progressive movement and kept a busy notebook. What was not known at the time: Cvetic had been arrested for assault with intent to ravish his sister-in-law. He was fined $300; the case was later nol prossed. In February this year Cvetic revealed that for those ten years he served as a paid FBI informer.

PLANNED PANIC: Pittsburgh newspapers, subservient to U.S. Steel, the Mellons, Sun Oil, the Pennsylvania R.R., the coal trust and the Grundy machine, blew Cvetic's "revelations" into the year's biggest sensation. There were three main targets: the Progressive Party, which showed surprising strength in recent elections; the nationality organizations embracing some 16,000 Americans of foreign descent, mostly Slav; and the United Electrical Workers now fighting for survival against CIO raids.

Panic and violence were the openly-sought aims of the newspaper crusade. So far only one rock has been thrown through one window, but near-panic has shown itself in the firing from their jobs of 50 persons ranging from a dishwasher to an engineer. Some unions revoked the membership of those named by Cvetic, which automatically led to their dismissal from employment. The first violinist of the Pittsburgh symphony lost his job in this way.

Alfred Oyler, public relations director of the AFL Central Labor Union, was fired because Cvetic named his father as a "communist." Blair Gunther, who has made a profession of red-baiting, used the hysterical atmosphere to demand that all state funds be withheld from the University of Pennsylvania until Dr. Marian Hathaway—for 15 years a respected professor in its School of Social Work, and a Wallace campaigner in 1948—was dismissed. By inference Gunther linked her name to Cvetic's smear; it took a letter from Pennsylvania Congressman Herman P. Eberharter to prove that she had not even been mentioned by Cvetic.

SANITY PREVAILS: When Alice Roth was called for grand jury service for the month of March, Judge Michael Musmanno (who is seeking Democratic nomination as lieutenant governor) summoned her to his chambers and confronted her with Cvetic who named her as a "communist." She refused on constitutional grounds to answer the charge and Musmanno barred her from the jury.

This case was taken to the State Supreme Court, which called Musmanno's procedure "an arrogation and an exercise of a power beyond the jurisdiction of any judge under existing law. The privilege of serving as a juror . . . may neither be extinguished, abated nor diminished by any proceeding short of one which fully comports with the historical and constitutional requisites of due process. It is necessary, therefore, for the guidance of the judges of the Commonwealth in the future that the error above noted be, and the same is, hereby condemned."

But Judge Musmanno declined to accept the high court's ruling. He said: "Though I am a judge and familiar with the law, no power or authority on earth can make me change that decision."

SCHOOL HYGIENE: A previously-made application by the Progressive Party for use of a school auditorium, for a protest meeting against the Mundt-Ferguson bill, was denied by Pittsburgh's Board of Education after Cvetic talked. At a packed public hearing on the ruling Board member William J. Hart, a Philip Murray lieutenant and member of the Assn. of Catholic Trade Unionists, pushed through with only one dissent a resolution under which a "suspicious" organization seeking to use school property must submit an affidavit "that it is not affiliated, associated or dedicated to carrying out the aims or programs of the Communist Party or any other organization with subversive aims, and that none of its officers are members of an organization listed by the U.S. Attorney General as subversive."

NOT EVEN AN OATH: The Progressive Party immediately reapplied for a school auditorium, was not even allowed to take the prescribed loyalty oath. Court action to revoke this ruling is now being pressed; a test case is being sought by refusal to pay school taxes in protest.

The American Civil Liberties Union is supporting the challenge to the school board's ruling.

To the Allegheny County Commissioners the panic seemed a fine issue upon which to declare the Progressive Party itself illegal, and they applied for a ruling to that effect.

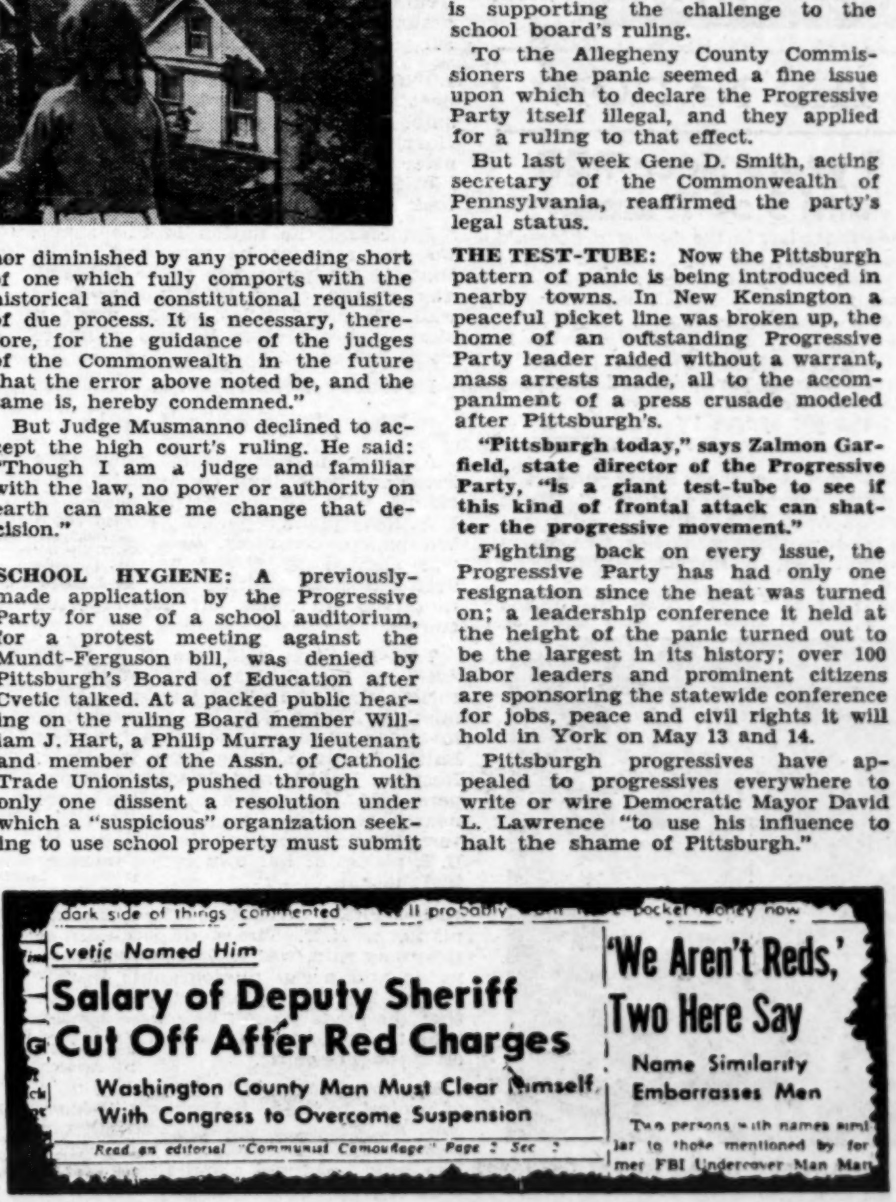
But last week Gene D. Smith, acting secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, reaffirmed the party's legal status.

THE TEST-TUBE: Now the Pittsburgh pattern of panic is being introduced in nearby towns. In New Kensington a peaceful picket line was broken up, the home of an outstanding Progressive Party leader raided without a warrant, mass arrests made, all to the accompaniment of a press crusade modeled after Pittsburgh's.

"Pittsburgh today," says Zalmon Garfield, state director of the Progressive Party, "is a giant test-tube to see if this kind of frontal attack can shatter the progressive movement."

Fighting back on every issue, the Progressive Party has had only one resignation since the heat was turned on; a leadership conference it held at the height of the panic turned out to be the largest in its history; over 100 labor leaders and prominent citizens are sponsoring the statewide conference for jobs, peace and civil rights it will hold in York on May 13 and 14.

Pittsburgh progressives have appealed to progressives everywhere to write or wire Democratic Mayor David L. Lawrence "to use his influence to halt the shame of Pittsburgh."



Asylum in Prague: Why the Wheelers acted as they did

By James Aronson

ON April 6 in Prague, George Wheeler, correspondent of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, asked the Czechoslovak government to grant asylum to him and his family "to give me the possibility of offering our training and knowledge to the world fight for peace."

In a crowded press conference attended by reporters of many nations, Wheeler and his wife Eleanor, who also has written for the GUARDIAN, told why they had taken the action. The immediate reason, Wheeler said, was to protest against the "brutal and unlawful treatment by the American occupation authorities in Western Germany of the 58 Czechoslovak citizens who had been kidnaped in a carefully-planned plot and flown over the borders of their country."

WHAT INSTRUCTIONS? He went on to tell about himself and his own experiences in the U.S. Zone of Germany where he served as policy chief in the Military Government's Labor Division. He said:

"I had at my disposal the complete files of the members of the Nazi Party, Himmler's SS, the Gestapo and other Nazi organizations. However, in the placing of manpower in responsible positions I was asked not to carry out the original instructions (to eliminate Nazis from leading positions and to replace them with anti-fascists) but to follow orders of the U.S. Intelligence and place members of Nazi organizations. This in spite of the fact that the files revealed their past."

LOYALTY TESTS: In 1945, Wheeler said, he was called before the Loyalty Board of the U.S. Civil Service Commission. One of the charges was: Associating with Negroes on an equal basis. Twice more in 1946 and 1947 he was questioned. In each case he was "cleared." Then he was fired without reason.

THE 4 YOUNG WHEELERS
"They give sense to life . . ."

In November, 1947, the Wheelers came to Czechoslovakia. "I came to know Czechoslovakia well," Wheeler said. "I became acquainted with her people, her endeavors, her difficulties, her constructive efforts. And it was in Czechoslovakia that I also got to know real democracy."

At the press conference Wheeler said that the U.S. was his country and he would one day return. He did not think the Truman Administration would welcome him, he said; but neither did he think it was any more eternal than Hoover's.

ENTER THE PRESS: Beginning at 9 a.m. April 6 the GUARDIAN's editors were besieged by phone calls from the press: Would Wheeler remain our correspondent? (Yes.) Was he a Communist? (The GUARDIAN does not require loyalty oaths or affidavits of its correspondents. We never asked him.) Did we agree with him? (He spoke as an individual; in many respects we do.)

To their credit the reporters turned in straight stories—except for a dirty little piece in the N.Y. **World Telegram and Sun**, which never called. It was left for the smug editorial writers to scoff and sneer—and ignore Wheeler's charges.

Reporters also called Religious News Service, for which Mrs. Wheeler had written. RNS said Mrs. Wheeler had been dropped because the quality of her work was poor. From Prague Eleanor Wheeler cabled the GUARDIAN: "Can send you photostat of RNS accreditation renewed this year for third time promising monthly retainer. This proviso withdrawn only last month when I again protested manufactured news they printed under a Prague dateline. Their statement is an example of their accuracy. I resigned. I was not dropped."

HOW THEY DECIDED: In a letter last week, Mrs. Wheeler told how they had come to their decision. She wrote:

"Each of us had mulled the idea over separately. We were permitted to earn our living here [Wheeler teaches economics at Charles University] in peace and freedom, in contrast with the way foreigners are often treated in our country. We had never expressed full approbation of this country openly; even when our Embassy behaved outrageously, we said nothing. This contradiction wore us down. On the way home from a language class on Monday, I found George drafting ideas of protest against the plane incident. . . . It is curious how many times we have decided something at the same time."

A MAJOR CONSIDERATION: But there was more too. In her own statement to the press Eleanor Wheeler, mother of four children, said it eloquently:

"Our greatest interest is our children. They give sense to our life, our future, and we hope that they'll become useful members of a progressive world.

"Our eldest son started to go to school in Virginia. In the bus he was beaten up daily because he played with Negro children. It worked on him. He began to hate school, to hate learning. We have noted the opposite reaction in our youngest daughter here. When she wrote an essay about her school recently, she began: "I like school. . . ."

"Here our children are happy; they have many friends. We are thankful that they are not bombarded by war propaganda and gangster stories on the radio and by decadent films. I am glad our children may be educated in an atmosphere of constructive work and love of peace."

Can any parent who reads this wish for less?

ROUNDUP

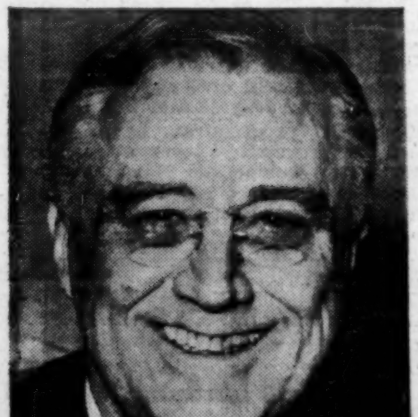
THE NATION

5 years since FDR and 5 of Truman

When lilacs last in the dooryard bloom'd
And the great star early droop'd in the western sky in the night,
I mourned and yet shall mourn with ever-returning spring.
Ever-returning spring trinity sure to me you bring
Lilacs blooming perennial and drooping star in the west
And thought of him I love.
WALT WHITMAN

BETWEEN the lilac hedge and the white marble monument at Hyde Park on April 12 hundreds stood bareheaded and thoughtful. For five years Franklin Delano Roosevelt had been dead.

In the rear of the crowd, his hands thrust deep into his pockets, his head bowed, stood Henry Wallace. President Truman had sent his administrative assistant to lay a wreath. Poland's consul general brought roses.



FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
He would have had it otherwise

LONG YEARS: There was another aspect to the anniversary. Five years since Roosevelt meant five years of Harry Truman. Tanned and refreshed after his latest and longest (30 days) Florida vacation, the President joyfully took stock.

He found the nation in fine shape. To one reporter he remarked acidly that, if the press was to be believed, any moron could have managed as well. He didn't think so, he made it clear, and therefore he was going to claim full credit.

He made scant mention of the debits.

The plane over Latvia

Another matter about which the President kept silent concerned an incident with dangerous overtones. A U.S. Navy plane reportedly bound from Wiesbaden, Germany, to Copenhagen, was sighted by Soviet patrol planes over a Russian military base in Latvia, hundreds of miles off its reported course.

The Russians said the U.S. plane fired on the Soviet craft, which returned fire. The plane has since been missing. A vast U.S. "rescue" mission, involving 26 planes, was searching the Baltic for the missing Navy Privateer. Russian, Danish and Swedish newspapers said the rescue operation more nearly resembled large-scale maneuvers. Sweden protested the violation by U.S. planes of her own secret military installations.

OFF THE COURSE: The missing plane, a N.Y. **Times** dispatch from Germany said, was fully equipped with radar and aerial photographic installations. The story scoffed at the reports that the plane was off its course, hinted that the area over Latvia made interesting sight-seeing.

The Russians delivered a strong note of protest to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. At presstime Washington had not replied. U.S. newspapers, meanwhile, had lurid headlines about the incident. Washington was strangely calm. It seemed as though the big brass subscribed to the **Times** report.

Gonzales Videla's visit

Also off course was the President's welcome to Gabriel Gonzales Videla, President of Chile. Gonzales Videla arrived in the Independence, Truman's own plane. He was given a hero's 21-gun salute, and great parades in Washington and New York. The press hailed him as an anti-communist hero. (For the real story of Chile today, see Pablo Neruda, p. 7).

Gunfire in K.C.

In Kansas City a few days earlier President Truman's portrait hanging in a Democratic Party Club house had looked down upon the murder of Charles Binaggio and Charles Gargotta. They were termed gangster and gunman, respectively, in the obituaries but their particular racket was government. They fought and swindled for votes and patronage in the President's own bailiwick, getting votes for him and demanding certain prices. The President, whose political career had been sponsored by the Pendergast machine, had frowned on Binaggio's efforts since 1948. In the course of those efforts police counted 23 unsolved murders.

When Binaggio was laid to rest state senators, sheriffs and magistrates walked as pallbearers. Among them was the chairman of the Kansas City Board of Police Commissioners. For all his sins Binaggio was being forgiven. Politicians recollected he had put many of them in office. The Church which buried him recalled that he had been seen at Mass only weeks before his end.

Dulles moves in again

It was clear that Kansas City politics would win the President no votes. But he was more concerned with evading the Republican assault upon the State Dept. as a hotbed of reds. He summoned to the rescue John Foster Dulles as Secretary of State Dean Acheson's adviser. To some New Yorkers who voted last year to keep Dulles out of office it seemed back-door treachery.

The tactic took very little of the heat off.

CAN'T AFFORD A SUIT: The Senate Foreign Relations sub-committee was preparing to call Louis F. Budenz, one-time communist editor turned professional anti-communist. He was expected to testify that Prof. Owen Lattimore, a prime target within the State Dept., was a communist. He said he had a list of 400 other "concealed communists" but feared to release it because he "could not afford libel suits."

JOSEPH McCARTHY
Bad throat, you know

In that respect he was like the man who used him, Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wisc.). McCarthy went to Passaic, N.J., to receive the award of a Marine association. Without his Congressional

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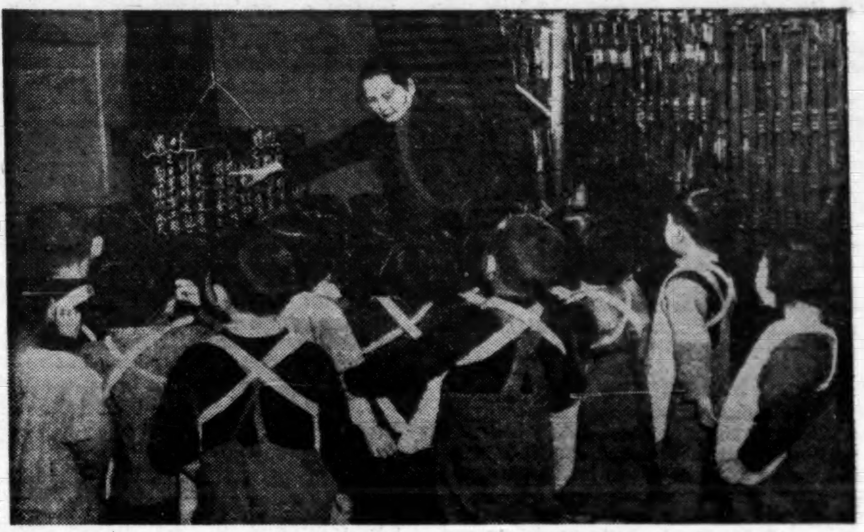


To make the future more secure

Mme. Sun Yat-sen takes over the current events period in a nursery for homeless and orphaned children in Shanghai. To nurseries like these the Friendship Cargo for China is sending critically-needed drugs and vaccines, textbooks, laboratory equipment and instruments. Last week, Cedric Belfrage, Editor of the GUARDIAN, made a national appeal for gifts of funds to make a spring shipment possible. The cargo is sponsored by the China Welfare Appeal, Inc., 439 Fourth Av., N.Y. Make checks payable to Dr. Gerald I. Shapiro, secretary treasurer.

(Continued from preceding page)

immunity, he made only a luke-warm attack on Lattimore, carefully refrained from calling him a communist.

Lattimore, on the other hand, went to Philadelphia while the heat was on him and restated his position: that the U.S. ought to withdraw recognition of Chiang Kai-shek's "rump government" of Formosa.

NATURAL GAS: The President turned his attention last week from foreign affairs to natural gas. Congress, by tight squeaks, had passed a bill that would have turned the transmission of natural gas over to private monopolies, excluding all federal controls. The President vetoed it. The pressure from the public had been considerable.

HAWAII HUNT: Some Congressional witch hunters shifted scene for the Easter Recess. Many members of the House Committee on Un-American Activities went to Hawaii to look for witches. They opened a full-scale, well publicized inquisition into labor on the island. They ran into a series of defiant witnesses. Meanwhile hearings on the Mundt Bill were suspended until their return.

Have YOU done YOUR part? SEE PAGE 3

THE LAW

HARRY BRIDGES

Guilt is automatic

FOR 81 days the federal jury in San Francisco had listened to the case of the United States vs. Harry Bridges, J. R. Robertson and Henry Schmidt, accused of perjury and conspiring to commit perjury in swearing that Bridges was not a Communist. Then the jurors deliberated for 31 hours. The verdict: guilty. The sentences, Bridges, five years; Robertson and Schmidt, two years.

By using confessed perjurers, paid informers and the hysterical climate of the cold war, the U.S. succeeded in San Francisco where it had failed thrice before. As Defense Attorney Vincent Hallinan sized up the verdict, the day of "automatic convictions" had arrived: the jurors could not resist the anti-communist drums.

A JOLLY CLUB: The jury's foreman revealed that there was little doubt in their minds about the verdict when the deliberation began; but the eight men and four women felt they should review the evidence anyway. Then they arranged to hold annual reunions to maintain the friendships formed during the trial. Among the friends were three retired business men (available for repeated jury calls), several executives and a member of the San Francisco branch of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang Party.

In his plea for a new trial, denied by Judge George B. Harris, Hallinan emphasized the hysteria which corrupts U.S. judicial proceedings. He pointed out that every vital piece of government evidence had been clearly refuted, that many U.S. witnesses were admitted liars, that the judge had favored Prosecutor F. Joseph Donohue in his rulings.

But Judge Harris, like Judge Harold R. Medina of Foley Square, had only contempt for the defense lawyers. Echoing Medina, he formally cited Hallinan and James MacInnis for conspiring to disrupt the trial, sentenced them to jail.

TURN THE TIDE: With Bridges, Robertson and Schmidt free on bail for the long appeal fight, the government was forced to retreat in its attempt to have Bridges' citizenship revoked immediately as a step toward his deportation. Hearing on that is scheduled for next month.

The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, CIO, of which the three defendants are top officers, rallied nation-wide support for the fight to come.

Said the ILWU: "The fantastic verdict . . . sounds an alarm that must be answered at once and vigorously by the membership of our union, and by all workers. . . . It was not accidental that the only worker called on the jury panel, Ed Johnson, an old-time longshoreman who had been through all the struggles, was dismissed by the court as being incapable of fairly judging the issues. . . .We call upon all men and women who work for their living . . . to rally now and turn the tide before they are themselves engulfed by the forces that thrive upon political and economic bondage."

(Continued on following page)

The brass is spreading the A-Bomb jitters all over the U.S.

By Lawrence Emery

THE panic mongers are at work throughout the U.S. In city after city both the military and the local press are deliberately striving for a national case of jitters. In editorials, in news reports and in lectures to selected groups the impression is being spread that every major U.S. city is in imminent danger of atomic attack. War, it is hinted, is a matter of minutes.

The fear is being created through the organization—on what is approaching a national scale—of civilian defense measures against an atom blast.

YANKEE DOODLE DANDY: Bostonians reading the **Globe** with their morning coffee are startled by reports like this: "Four civilian volunteer units will be activated shortly in New England in an effort to help guard this area's extensive coastline from any possible sneak atomic attack, the Navy revealed yesterday."

Similar defense units have already been activated in San Francisco, San Diego, Richmond, Va., and Philadelphia.

In Portland citizens ponder a lead editorial in the Oregon **Daily Journal**: "IF BOMBS HIT PORTLAND."

The Governor of the state has already reactivated the wartime air raid warning service and the mayor of the city has appointed the police chief director of civil defense. Applauding these moves, the editorial says: "It is heartening to see state and local officials alerted to the situation. The safeguards they and the military advocate would pay off in human lives. Pay off by thousands."

ANY DAY NOW: In St. Louis readers of the **Post-Dispatch** got this shocker: "ARMY DOCTOR WARNS ST. LOUIS TO PREPARE NOW FOR DISASTER RELIEF IN EVENT OF A-ATTACK." The doctor, Col. Paul I. Robinson, chief of the personnel division of the Army Surgeon General's office, spoke before an assembly of city, county, medical and hospital officials. He described in careful detail the horrors of an atom blast which, he indicated in his talk, could happen any day.

About 36 states and territories have arranged to have representatives trained in "disaster programs" at courses conducted by the Atomic Energy Commission; 21 states have "disaster plans" plotted in detail.

On April 9 military officials in Washington announced that radar spotting posts are already operating around the clock, that 200 warning centers have been hooked up, and that by the end of summer 160,000 trained civilians will be manning the nation's "air frontier" with spotters stationed every 10 miles.

LIKE A PRAIRIE FIRE: The panic mongering got under way last fall with Col. Robert R. McCormick of the Chicago **Tribune** one of the first to spread fear.

Others took up his cry for government action. Among the loudest were the mayors of San Francisco and Los Angeles and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Last month a civilian defense authority was set up in the Executive Department.

On March 19 the U.S. Chamber of Commerce issued a booklet telling cities what to do, and on Capitol Hill Sen. Bourke Hickenlooper (R-Ia.) joined the clamor.

The next day the city of Philadelphia announced that it has worked out a complete "disaster relief" program, approved by the Red Cross.

HIROSHIMA ON VIEW: Constructed along military lines, the apparatus is in charge of Lt. Col. Lawrence P. Devlin, senior medical officer of the Eastern Pennsylvania Military District. He has already lectured to more than 2,000 persons.

The colonel's lectures, accompanied by movies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, are restricted to the clergy, physicians, dentists, attorneys, nurses, schoolteachers, officers of the police and fire departments, reserve officers, officers of civic groups and parent-teachers associations—and "identification is required" for attendance.

Some lecture quotes:

That Marshall Plan money is building us listening stations all over Europe. When our friends there let us know a supersonic bomber is on the way, our jet planes will take off for defense. In case they can't get off the ground soon enough, civilian defense groups are needed. The four things we have to be organized to fight are medical aid and treatment, fire, hoodlums and looting, and the 10,000 card-carrying commies in this area, who will immediately start pulling out the remaining telephone wires and carrying out all kinds of sabotage. I did say commies, didn't I? I can't say Russians. They are our allies, you know. . . .

●

I wish there were time to tell about the good things that could be done with atomic energy. . . .

TURN THE TIDE: Not everybody is susceptible to the panic being spread by men like Devlin. Three women who attended one of the colonel's lectures wrote the GUARDIAN:

"We believe it is not yet too late to turn the tide. We do not believe that there has to be another war. Nor do we believe that any other country is planning to drop an atom bomb on us tomorrow. We believe that if the energy, the thinking, the planning, the money that are being spent on war talk and spy scares today were turned to peace plans and the constructive development of atomic energy, to make our country a happier place for all of us to live in, we could find sensible answers to our problems."

Daily Worker, London

(Continued from preceding page)

SUPREME COURT

Silent surrender

BESET by witch-hunters, some Americans never ceased to hope the U.S. Supreme Court would foil rampaging committees and restore justice.

Last week the court had a golden opportunity. It had before it the cases of John Howard Lawson and Dalton Trumbo, two of the Hollywood Ten. In 1947 the film writers and directors had wanted to answer the House Un-American Activities Committee's "$64 question" about communists in their own way; but J. Parnell Thomas, then the chairman and now a convict, filed contempt citations and lower courts convicted the ten.

The High Court also had up for consideration the contempt convictions of Richard Morford, for refusing to give the committee the membership lists of the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship, and of George Marshall, now chairman of the Civil Rights Congress, for refusing to yield records of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties in 1947.

OUT WITH FREE SPEECH: By refusing to review the convictions of Lawson and Trumbo, the court opened wide the floodgates for cold-war hysteria. Only Justices Black and Douglas dissented. The Court of Appeals, which was upheld by silent approval, had said: "When legislating to avert what it believes to be a threat of substantive evil of national welfare, Congress may abridge either freedom (free speech and the right to remain silent)."

By the same token the court barred a hearing to Marshall. Only Morford won a point; he was granted a new trial because he had been denied the right to question government employees on their possible bias as jurors.

While legal actions got under way to win rehearings for the victims, the Supreme Court's abandonment of traditional safeguards for free thought became the subject of intensified campaigns to carry the civil rights issue to the people. In New York last week, three simultaneous "Deadline for Freedom" rallies drew thousands to hear representatives of the Ten, the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee and other groups which have been hounded by Congress and the courts.

THE LAWYERS

Yes, but...

WHEN Judge Harold R. Medina sentenced five defense attorneys and defendant Eugene Dennis to jail for contempt after the Foley Square conviction of the 11 Communist leaders, he built his entire case on a charge of "conspiracy" to disrupt the trial. Had it not been for this, he said, he "would have overlooked or at most reprimanded counsel. . . ."

On April 5 the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals threw out Medina's conspiracy charge against the lawyers as unproven, but upheld the contempt sentences anyhow. One of the three judges, Charles E. Clark, dissented on the ground that the attorneys were entitled to trial on Medina's accusations.

Because the 2-1 decision cast doubt on the legality of Medina's procedure, the lawyers asked a rehearing and planned to go to the U.S. Supreme Court if necessary. Theirs was part of a broad fight against the U.S. drive to "get" progressive lawyers.

The Trenton fight

The Trenton Six, awaiting a new trial for a murder they didn't commit, last week asked the U.S. Court of Appeals at Philadelphia to let the lawyers of their choice defend them. O. John Rogge, William L. Patterson and Emanuel H. Bloch have been barred from the case by Judge Charles Hutchinson.

The Civil Rights Congress said that the barring of out-of-state attorneys would set an evil precedent in the south, for example, where Negroes must often rely on outside legal aid. For the six Trenton Negroes themselves, Judge Hutchinson's action meant a clear denial of their right to counsel.

As the legal quibblings dragged on, the innocent six approached the end of their second year behind bars.

LT. THOMPSON

New help on way

FOR 16 months the Marine Corps managed to keep secret the case of Second Lieutenant Harold Keith Thompson Jr., held under post arrest at Quantico for that length of time because he was a supporter of Henry A. Wallace. With an outstanding service record, Thompson was brought to trial on flimsy charges after trying to resign from the Corps to devote himself full-time to the Progressive Party.

Two weeks ago Washington correspondent John B. Stone told the story in the GUARDIAN. Since then Thompson has received letters of support from many parts of the U.S. Last week indications were that more decisive help might be on the way: Herbert M. Levy, staff counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union, asked Stone to assemble the record of the case for him; his organization was interested.

UTTER CONFUSION: Marine Corps brass was having other embarrassments. Last week Lt. Thompson's name turned up on a list of 50 other lieutenants recommended for promotion by President Truman and Navy Secretary Matthews.

The discrepancy between Lt. Thompson's present status and the promotion was pointed out by Thompson's attorney; Secretary Matthews replied there was "no connection." A sidelight on the confusion, reported Stone, was that, while Thompson's case was pending, he was excused by his commanding officer from attending classes that would have qualified him for the promotion. Then he was detached from the school because of absence.

Meanwhile the face of Brig. Gen. Charles S. Brown glows red. He is editor-in-chief of the **Marine Corps Gazette**, professional publication of the Marine Corps Assn. In the February, 1950, issue is an article on the injustice of present court-martial procedures. The author: Lt. Harold K. Thompson.

CAN THE BILL OF RIGHTS BE REWRITTEN?
Eight of the Hollywood Ten. Left to Right: Edward Dmytryk, Samuel Ornitz, Lester Cole, Herbert Biberman, Albert Maltz, Alvah Bessie, John Howard Lawson, and Ring Lardner Jr.

LABOR

UNITY

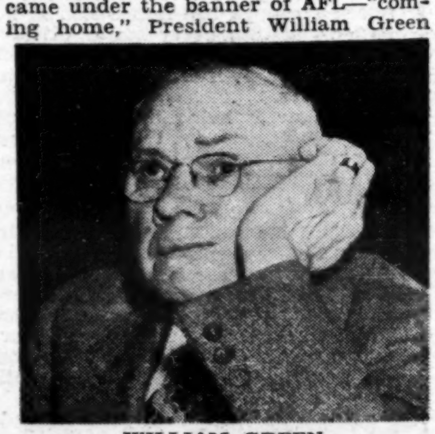
All want it; will they try for it?

LABOR'S house has long been divided. Within recent months more partitions have been thrown up, dividing and sub-dividing.

Last year the CIO claimed 6,000,000; the AFL, 8,000,000; the United Mine Workers, 600,000; International Assn. of Machinists, 581,938; the Railway Brotherhoods, 406,556; other independents, 533,444. In all there are 16,000,000 organized workers in a labor force of over 60,000,000.

In the course of CIO's war on its rank and file the ranks of independent unions have grown, CIO has declined.

SOUNDING BRASS: To tear down the partitions in labor's house is a long-standing ambition of the rank and file. Periodically it impels labor's leaders to issue trumpet blasts of unity which fade out fast. For years the AFL has wanted to establish unity by the simple method of swallowing CIO. Only if CIO came under the banner of AFL—"coming home," President William Green called it—could even cooperation be possible. Cooperation seemed likeliest in the field of anti-communism. AFL and CIO leaders joined in the assaults on the "communist-dominated" (i.e., including unions of socialist countries) World Federation of Trade Unions.



WILLIAM GREEN
Home, home on the range

A month ago miners' leader John L. Lewis called for joint action but it was coolly received by other labor leaders.

MURRAY AT THE TRUMPET: Early this month the trumpets blew again. Philip Murray, president of CIO, wrote to the heads of the AFL, the Railway Brotherhoods, the IAM and the UMW proposing "a joint committee consisting of duly accredited representatives

(Continued on following page)

Jennings Perry

Tormented words

WHAT we need next is a court of semantics in which common nouns could sue on charges of assault and battery, fraudulent misrepresentation and kidnaping. The first plaintiff would be "democracy" and undoubtedly the case would come up from Mississippi.

I would say that other tormented words crying for relief and restitution would be "loyalty," "aggression," "defense," "godless," in that order; but the Mississippi case deserves priority because of the importance of the term and the extreme violence that is being visited upon it.

"DEMOCRACY" is a fighting word — that is, the young men are called upon every so often to go out and fight and die for it. We ought by now to know what it means. For unless the word has a firm meaning, the young men shall have fought and died for a catchphrase, a vapor, a nothing, which does not seem fair.

"Did you say 'democracy', Suh?"

Obviously it is not right for so significant a word to be made to stand on its head, walk upon its hands and pass for—of all things—its exact opposite.

The new Mississippi primary law purports to give the august word exclusively to the States Rights Democrats and to prohibit the use of the derivative words "democratic" and "democrat" in the title of any other party in the state. The aim is to keep the Democrats (or Truman Democrats), an old-line national party, off the ballot, a dog-in-the-manger trick which need not detain us here. The awful thing is the company to which our word has been chained.

AS a matter of fact, we know very well what democracy is. We can quibble about "loyalty" when our devotion to the Constitutional principles collide with the exigencies of the Administration's cold war. "Defense" and "aggression" change places handily in international strife. We still can speak of a "godless" country whose churches are as thronged on Easter as ours are. But we have a working acquaintance with what democracy is, and we observe that the State's Rights Democrats stand for no part of it.

Democracy is popular rule and the State's Rights Democrats are against the right to vote. Democracy presupposes political equality and freedom of choice, and the officially anointed Democrats of Mississippi are against political equality and freedom of choice. . . A word so fair in essence ought to have some recourse against this gross abuse.

WE live in a day of hyphenations—of social democracy and industrial democracy and Jeffersonian democracy and Christian democracy and a supposedly sacrosanct capitalistic democracy—which confuse the unwary. But in all of these some gesture is made to the basic idea of popular sovereignty.

The States Righters resent and reject the very idea. They may wear "democracy" for a masquerade, to deceive and cheat, but only to the mortification of the mask. The Mississippi law which confers this privilege upon them alone is a warrant for pretense and piracy and perversion: its effect is to enslave and humiliate a name which belongs to freedom and to the dignity of man.

We owe the language better than this. A word has a right to its meaning. Sins have been done in the name of democracy before, and the name is profaned by all manner of sly interpreters: there is a point in defamation, however, beyond which we should be moved, by sympathy if not by prudence, to launch a rescue.

The duress into which "democracy" has been legislated in Mississippi would wring the heart of any honest lexicon. "Loyalty" of late has got some defense. But "democracy," by which we mean our political faith, languishes head down in the Delta mud.

Pablo Neruda speaks to America:

'A hangman visits you!'

IT was cold that day in Lota. Coal dust weighted the icy Pacific air and the damp fog, a blanket over more than 10,000 men, women and children, shivering in their rags.

Let me tell you about them. Twelve hours a day the miners in Lota work, and for that their pay is 50c—not for an hour but for the whole day. They stood there, and from rotten crumbling houses, roofs open to cold and rain and fog and black soot, their women came to join them. Now, however, the faces of these children of poverty had an unusual look. Because they were looking at hope.

Gabriel Gonzales Videla was speaking to them, and Gabriel Gonzales Videla was candidate for the Presidency of Chile, and the candidate spoke of hope and promises. An end to feudalism, he promised them, an end of the political police. The land would be divided, and there would be better pay and better houses. He would be their champion against their oppressors, and through him would come a new life.

THEN, at the most intense moment of the meeting, a little old woman, wrinkled and ragged, a spectre of the mines, came out of the crowd and up to the platform, and said to him:

"It is so much that you will give us, that I will give you all that I have."

And from her rags she took a few pennies and gave them to the candidate. The crowd applauded. The candidate wept, and holding the pennies in his hand, he, Gonzales Videla, said:

"Comrade, over these pennies, given through sacrifice, I say to you that if I should betray you, then put me in front of a firing squad—to die the way traitors die."

A FEW months passed; not one penny had wages been raised. It was still cold, and life was no easier, no better. So the workers struck.

But things were different now. The man who had promised them so many good things was president of Chile. His picture hung in the mines, a tricolor sash on his chest, a dinner jacket underneath the sash. So the strike would be simple, you see, and the workers wired him:

"Come and help us, President Gonzales Videla."

So he sent help. He sent tanks and artillery and airplanes. He sent warships to lie off the coast and hold the town under their guns. He sent his police, and in the night they entered the wretched homes and took the workers from their beds, and their wives and their children too. Men and women were tortured, beaten into unconsciousness.

Then, when the first stage was done, cattle cars were brought to Lota, and into the cattle cars, like beasts, were packed the miners and their wives and their children. For days, the cattle cars rumbled south, and then, in a desolate antarctic wasteland, almost 1,000 miles from their homes, the cars were unloaded.

IN those cars, children died, pregnant women miscarried, and a new hell for Chile was created. But President Gonzales Videla was learning his job. Not flowers, but concentration camps blossomed. And they were effective, for one of them, Pisagua, came to be called the Camp of Extermination, so many had died there.

Gonzales Videla had only started. He closed down 15 newspapers. It became a crime to think. The political police were increased by the thousands. He raised the prices of food products, and any peasant who protested or called for an end to feudal slavery was speedily imprisoned.

Then, so that the wrath of the people might not sweep him out of power, he erased from the electoral books the names of more than 50,000 persons. You see, in my land, less than 10% of the population may vote. So with the votes he could buy and the 50,000 votes he destroyed, Chilean democracy came to an end.

TRUMAN & GONZALES VIDELA
A welcome for the butcher

THE democratic peoples of our hemisphere did not want this. My people know the difference between your monopolies and your workers, between your people and your arms makers. But Gonzales Videla was the eager tool of great copper and iron interests of the United States, the nitrate interests —and other American monopolies that live by the blood of my people. How bloody and hateful he made the name of the United States in my land!

This is the man who now will be received in Washington. He crawls to Washington to be paid in dollars for his deeds. This is the time of the traitor, the jackal—but it is also the time of the peoples victorious.

As he receives his pay in Washington, let the people of your land remember the miners of Lota, the women and children of a distant country called Chile, where there is cold and poverty and hunger and hatred. Let your people remember, for a hangman and murderer visits you. Let them pay him off in Washington; you can give him what he deserves—hatred and contempt.

One of the world's greatest living poets, and an elected Senator, Pablo Neruda was indicted and forced to flee from his native Chile two years ago. The above was written in exile in Mexico City this month.

(Continued from preceding page)
of our various organizations with authority to embark upon and pursue a common program."

He said: "Unless this is done without delay, the economic policies being pursued by the small financial group that dominates American industry will inevitably result in a disastrous depression."

Loyal to the Truman Administration, he blamed the failures of Congress on "an unholy coalition of Dixiecrats and reactionary Republicans."

To please Green, Murray said he looked forward to labor's "organic unity." Green was pleased but restrained. He expressed "deep interest" and referred the suggestion to the AFL Executive Council.

MORE UNITY, MORE GAINS: John L. Lewis sent it to his executive board, too, but told Murray that "the executive officers will recommend to the board that it authorize participation in your suggested Joint Committee."

President A. J. Hayes of the IAM commented: "The greater the unity among unions, the greater will be the gains for our members."

The Railway Brotherhoods were expected to echo the sentiment. A brass-tacks unity still seemed some ways off.

Labor Briefs

RIGHT-WING SPLIT: First major right wing split in labor's ranks developed in the Textile Workers Union (CIO) when President Emil Rieve announced he would oppose his executive vice president, George Baldanzi, in the elections at the Boston convention, May 1. Baldanzi, director of the CIO's southern organizing drive which has been a dismal failure, and Rieve are united on the union's no-wage-raise policy and cooperation with the employers on speed-up. Both are violent red-baiters. But each wants supreme power.

CURRAN GOONERY: Supporters of Joseph Curran, president of the CIO National Maritime Union, continued to use physical violence against rank and file opponents who are trying to oust the Curran machine in the national elections, which began April 1 and will end June 1. Eight seamen, identified as Curran men, were arrested following a savage attack on two rank and file leaders distributing leaflets outside the union's New York office. Four of the attackers escaped.

CHRYSLER STRIKE: As the strike of 89,000 workers at Chrysler entered its fourth month, Walter Reuther, president of CIO United Auto Workers, announced that "about half" the issues had been settled. He said the company was still resisting union demands for a 10c-an-hour package in pension benefits and improved medical and hospital insurance.

THE ECONOMY

UNEMPLOYMENT

Congress won't up starvation benefits

WHEN Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Social Security Act in 1935 he called it the "cornerstone in a structure which is being built but is by no means complete." After 15 years the cornerstone is still there.

Early this month, with unemployment officially near the 5,000,000 mark (actually much more), President Truman finally asked Congress to overhaul the shaky, patchwork structure. He proposed lifting unemployment benefits of single persons to approximately 50% of normal earnings up to a maximum of $30 per week; paying additional benefits for dependents up to a maximum of 70% of wages or $42 for a person with three dependents; raising duration of benefits to a nationwide minimum of 26 weeks; bringing about 6,000,000 additional workers under coverage. The higher costs would be met with higher taxes on the employers, whose taxes are now below the rate of 2.7% contemplated when the system was set up.

The President's proposals, inadequate but in the direction, roused little enthusiasm in Congress. Washington correspondents reported little chance for passage at this session.

NOT ENOUGH TO LIVE: In the depression years of the 30's states set their benefits at 50% of full-time weekly wages, ranging from $5 to $15. Today's average benefit of about $20 is only one-third of the average weekly wage. The Dept. of Labor estimates that a single person needs fully half his regular pay to pay for food, rent, heat and light. Those with dependents need more.

In pre-war prices today's benefit is worth about $11. It represents less than a fourth of the minimum estimated by the Heller Committee of the University of California (a standing survey group) to be required for a family of four. Yet only 11 states provide supplementary allowances for dependents.

In most states the duration of benefits is still tied to previous earnings, with a maximum varying from 12 to 26 weeks (the latter in only 12 states). In 1949 the average was less than 13 weeks. Only New York provides a potential duration of 26 weeks for all claimants.

As unemployment grows the duration of unemployment tends to increase. In the 1930's many workers were unemployed two to three years or longer. In 1949 a third of all who qualified for benefits exhausted their rights while still unemployed, and millions of claimants lacked sufficient previous earnings to qualify at all.

Have YOU done YOUR part? SEE PAGE 3

POLITICS

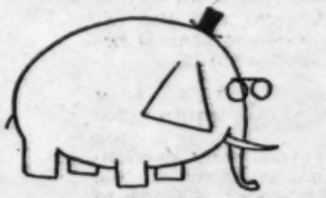
PRIMARIES

7 key contests due in May

SPRING found politicians all over the country mending fences and trying to avoid being caught in the housecleaning. It was primary time.

The season opened April 11 in Illinois. Senate majority leader Scott W. Lucas, unopposed in the Democratic primary, will run next fall against former Rep. Everett M. Dirksen, a critic of Truman's tax policies and foreign spending program, who easily won the Republican nomination for U. S. Senator. Among seven congressmen renominated was Democrat Adolf Sabath, 84-year-old dean of the House.

In May candidates for seven U. S. Senate seats will be picked—one each in Alabama, Florida, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Oregon; two in North Carolina.



WARM IN FLORIDA: One of the hottest Democratic contests is in Florida where Sen. Claude Pepper is fighting to retain his seat against Rep. George A. Smathers, of Miami. Primary day is May 2.

Smathers, backed by the DuPont interests which virtually control the state, attacks Pepper with unabashed Ku Kluxery as pro-Negro, pro-Communist and pro-labor. Reporters traveling with Smathers complain because he uses the same speech every day.

Pepper, a liberal with a comparatively good domestic record (he made a last-ditch battle against Taft-Hartley but opposed FEPC) swung over to support of the cold war after fighting the Truman Doctrine in 1947. The

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(Continued from preceding page)

Florida Progressive Party, while refusing to endorse Pepper, holds that a Smathers victory would be "disastrous."

GRAHAM IN N.C.: Another Democratic campaign based on communism, states rights and white supremacy is being waged in North Carolina. There, a corporation lawyer, Willis Smith, and former Sen. Robert Rice Reynolds, darling of U.S. fascist groups (he retired in 1944 because he had no chance of re-election), are trying for the seat now held by Sen. Frank P. Graham. Graham, who was appointed last year, vigorously denies that he is or ever has been a Communist, as charged by his two opponents. He makes clear that he opposes an FEPC with teeth, but has come out in favor of federal legislation to abolish the poll tax. Primary day is May 27.

In Ohio, where Democrats have failed to unite on any strong candidate to oppose Sen. Robert A. Taft, seven men are seeking the Democratic nomination for Senator in the May 2 primary. (See Taft profile, p. 16.)

SUFFRAGE SUFFERS: In South Carolina where the primary is July 11, the Dixiecrat forces of Gov. J. Strom Thurmond won a major victory when the State Legislature approved a new electoral law designed to reduce Negro participation in Democratic primaries. Under Federal Court rulings that opened up the primaries to Negroes as well as whites, 50,000 to 60,000 Negroes had been expected to vote in this year's election. The new law will reduce Negro participation by at least 50%.

Federal Judge J. Waities Waring, who made the rulings and who is already the target of impeachment proceedings in his native state, may face similar attack from Dixiecrat and Republican forces in Congress. The House Judiciary Committee was reported "considering" impeachment proceedings against him.

Primaries on May 2 will be held also in Indiana.

Have YOU done YOUR part? SEE PAGE 3

THE FREEDOMS

SUMMARY OF HATE

1949's bitter crop

WHEN hate mobs roamed at Peekskill and Chicago last year, they represented an "extension on American soil—at this late date—of the Hitler propaganda falsely equating Jews with Communists, a scapegoating of the Negro minority and a serious invasion of civil liberties."

This was one conclusion of **A Measure of Freedom,** the annual report on civil rights issued by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Another conclusion was that hate is a thriving enterprise: more than $1,000,000 was listed as having gone into the 1949

coffers of Merwin K. Hart, Gerald L. K. Smith, Gerald Winrod, Upton Close, Joseph P. Kamp, Allen Zoll and other organized mongers of ill-will.

While the ADL found grim evidences of the rise of anti-minority feeling generally, it noted some local progress in adopting civil rights measures. But Congress, it found, has failed miserably on the whole job.

DEPORTATIONS

Tell it to Washington

IN Michigan the U.S. Justice Dept. is trying to take away the citizenship of Sam Sweet, a leader of Plymouth Local 51, United Auto Workers. Around the country hundreds of potential deportation victims are fighting back.

Early this month 200 Michigan delegates of 86 organizations met in Detroit, organized an anti-deportation campaign for the week of April 23-May 1, under the leadership of the Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. The week's cry will be: "Tell it to Washington!" U.S. and state officials will be told to end the deportation drive, defeat the Hobbs concentration camp bill, the Mundt bill and other suppressive bills. A Detroit festival, "We Are America," will open the week.

Bringing peace to Greece

In April, 1949, a battle took place at Vrontama, Greece, between Athens royalist troops and guerrillas. This souvenir photo of the fight was found later on a royalist soldier captured in the Peloponnesus. On the back was written "Heads of Bulgarians." To Greek royalists, cashing in on the Truman Doctrine, all opponents are "Bulgarians."

Cold war within the cold war

Oil for the lamps of Rockef

In 1948 the Progressive Party said the power of U. S. monopolies threatened world peace and the American people's welfare, and that only government ownership of vital areas of the economy could break their grip. Although the party did not call for nationalization of the Rockefeller-dominated oil trust, the need for public control of this key sector of U. S. economy is evident from the facts here presented.

By Tabitha Petran

THE cold war as seen in the newspapers is a straight conflict of ideologies between east and west. Behind that mask, an older war which is a key to understanding of our times rages more fiercely than ever.

This war is not over ideologies, but over oil. The chief antagonists are not Russia and the U. S., but Britain and the U. S. The State Dept., foreign ministries, generals, admirals—and the people—are tools of the real strategists, Standard Oil's Rockefellers and the British-Dutch owners of Royal Dutch Shell.

These groups each controlled about 29% of world crude oil production (outside the U. S., Russia and Mexico) on the eve of World War II.. During the war, when U. S. taxpayers bought huge concessions for them in the Middle East, U. S. oil firms' share in world crude rose from 37% to 49%. Jersey Standard alone increased its foreign production 50%.

FAMILIAR SMELL: The war left the world acutely short of oil. Rockefeller's Jersey Standard, Standard of California and Socony Vacuum, with the Rockefeller-connected Texas Corp. and Mellon's Gulf Oil, led a drive for new sources which upped U. S. control to 55% of world production.

These firms with combined assets of $5,000,000,000 made profits of about $1,000,000,000 in 1948. Their post-war operations have hung a rancid smell of oil over China, Israel, Indonesia, Latin America, eastern Europe—over the rearmament program, the Atlantic Pact, and U. S. foreign policy in general. Chiefly they muscled in on Anglo-Iranian (56% owned by the British government) and the British Shell group:

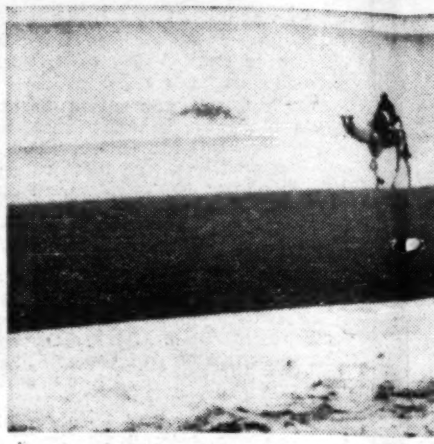
- The fake 1946 crisis in Iran over Azerbaijanian autonomy not only kept Russia from Iranian oil but broke the monopoly of Anglo-Iranian, which revealed the weakness of the British oil trust by agreeing to sell part of its Iranian crude to Jersey Standard.
- By safeguarding expanded U. S. exploitation of Arabian oil, the Truman Doctrine opened the door to U. S. oil dominance in the Middle East, traditional British stronghold.
- By allocating to oil $4,000,000,000 of the $16,000,000,000 European recovery program, the Marshall Plan gave a four-billion subsidy to U. S. oil giants to capture the European market from the British. ERP provided the market for expanded production in the Middle East, where because of low wages a barrel of crude costs about 40c to produce. (U. S. crude costs about $1.70). For Middle East crude delivered in Europe, U. S. oil firms charged ERP (that's your pocketbook) $1.99 to $2.18 a barrel while charging half that for the same oil delivered to U. S. ports.

IT'S FUN—DON'T MEDDLE: In defense of this fantastic overcharge, the Economic Cooperation Administration (ERP operating agency, whose Oil Administrator until recently was former Socony official Walter Levy) said any interference with it would be "price fixing."

The Big Steal principle had been sanctioned during the war, when the U. S. paid King Ibn Saud of Arabia $100,000,000 to safeguard concessions for Aramco (owned by Standard and Texas). In return Aramco promised to deliver oil to the U. S. Navy at 40c a barrel. But it broke the agreement, charged the Navy $1.05, later $1.95. The Navy official who approved the overcharge was a former Socony official.

By 1948 the world oil shortage had become a world surplus. Flooding the U. S. market with Middle East oil, the U. S. giants caused cutbacks in domestic production and rising unemployment in the oilfields.

IN JEOPARDY: ERP nations pay out 20-25% of their dollars (the sterling area, 40%) for oil. To reduce this largest single dollar item in their budgets, they proposed increasing crude production in their overseas holdings and refinery capacity at home. ECA re-



BLAC

An oil pipeline stretching

PEACE

'Friendship oath was not in vain'

AT 12:30 p.m. on Wednesday, April 25, 1945, a six-man American combat patrol stood on the Elbe River's eastern bank, near Strehla in the heart of Germany, and shook hands with Russian soldiers of Marshal Koniev's 1st Ukrainian Army. The meeting place was littered with the bodies of 200 old men, women and children. As they clasped hands, the Russians and Americans swore a solemn oath that they would do everything in their power to prevent another war.

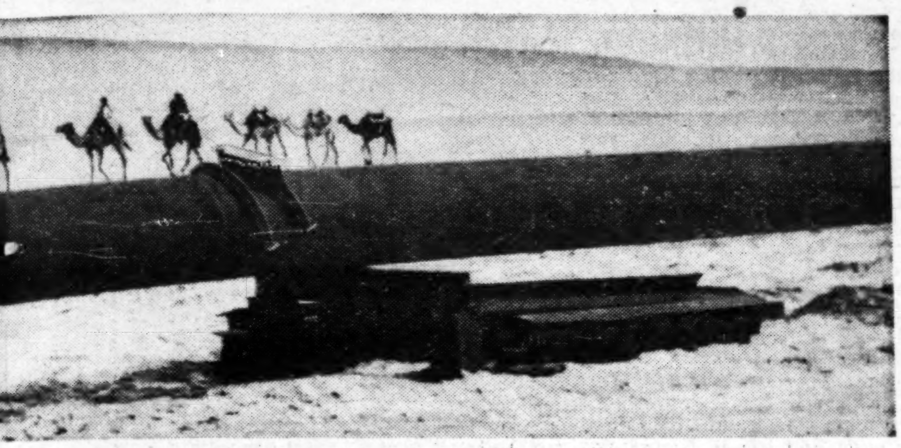
As the link-up came, world diplomats were gathered in San Francisco to found the United Nations. Said the chairman of the opening session: "The prayers of the people of the world . . . are as one voice, rising from the tragedy and suffering of war, in prayer for lasting peace. Thus fortified, and with the guidance of Almighty God, we must and shall fulfill the purpose for which we have come together."

By April, 1950, many who had spoken such bright and brave words had forgotten them. But Joseph P. Polowsky of Chicago, a member of the patrol which made the junction with the Russians, remembered. Last week he was in the middle of a campaign, supported by many organizations, to have April 25 set aside as a commemorative anniversary day for peace. Said he: "I join in calling upon the nations for a new birth of conciliation and friendship, that the oath sworn on the blood-soaked historic ground at the Elbe River shall not have been taken in vain."

Others who remember

In Iowa, **Wallace's Farmer and Iowa Homestead,** an influential rural paper,

efeller and British Shell



LACK GOLD IN THE DESERT WASTELAND
ing a thousand miles from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean

jected British-Dutch crude expansion plans, and the refinery program, telling Congress the program would mean "a degree of over-expansion that . . . would seriously reduce the market outlets for American-owned oil and thus jeopardize American-owned concessions in foreign lands."

When Britain pushed its refinery program by using "free" (not ECA) dollars to buy equipment in the U.S., ECA slapped an embargo on shipment of oil machinery, at the same time demanding complete freedom for the expansion of U. S. oil firms in Europe. For them it claimed the unrestricted right to import equipment from the U. S. and to obtain refinery equipment produced in Europe.

SQUEEZE BY SQUEEZE: U. S. oil firms expanded rapidly in Europe:

- In England, Jersey Standard, with a promise from the Labor government not to nationalize oil, undertook to expand its Fawley refinery to more than 50% of Britain's refinery capacity. Socony Vacuum will build another. Jersey Standard built a refinery in Belgium.
- To outproduce Shell's Dutch refinery, Caltex (California Standard and Texas) built one in Holland and another in Genoa, Italy. ECA funds were used to build a petroleum dock for Socony in Naples. In Italy the U. S. government forgave $900,000,000 in Italian debts in return for a bigger share of the Italian market for Jersey Standard.
- In Western Germany, the capacity of Jersey Standard's refinery (30% of West German production) is already greater than pre-war. Socony's refinery has matched pre-war levels.
- Jersey Standard, with Socony, owned one third of France's refinery capacity, until last year it bought the majority share of France's biggest refinery. U.S.-British groups now own 95% of French refinery capacity.

BRITISH OBSTINACY: In 1948, with the oil surplus and world dollar-hunger growing, the British oil trust managed to shut U. S. oil out of Argentina and Egypt, maneuved to capture the China market. Shell got a $250,000,000 loan from the Morgan interests to expand its U. S. operations. Alarmed by the effects of the dollar shortage, U. S. oil firms repeatedly—in vain—demanded that Britain lift currency restrictions and so let them carry on more of their foreign trade in sterling.

Britain's reply last December was to slash U. S. oil imports and extend import restrictions throughout the Commonwealth. To bring Britain to terms, the U. S. government and oil officials threatened a worldwide price war, an end to Marshall Plan aid and restrictions on Shell's operations in the U. S. ECA froze funds it had authorized for the British oil industry.

In the fight to save its imperial stakes from the clutches of the American carpet-baggers, the British stand to lose. But this re-emergence of the basic economic war between Britain and the U. S. may go a long way to explain why Winston Churchill, chief architect of the cold war, has now suggested ending it.

polled farmers on war; the result: 68% favored direct efforts to preserve peace. Only 3% said yes to this proposition: "Attack Russia at once before she gets a stockpile of atomic bombs."

In Minnesota a state poll asked: "Is there anything that you think the common people of the world can do to end the cold war and bring about a lasting peace?" Affirmative replies came from 42% of those polled; 44% were pessimistic: "The common people of the world don't have much to say about what goes on." "No opinion" came from 14%.

In New York City the Lower East Side Committee of Women for Peace were heartened by a letter from their Congressman, Arthur G. Klein (D). "The people want peace," he wrote. "I shall certainly support any practicable plan for the control and prohibition of the use of horror weapons; but it is much more important that all of us should actively work for and seek international peace and mutual understanding."

No wish to die

Representatives of 15 youth organizations in Philadelphia met and formed

a Youth for Peace Committee, planned a mass rally for April 22 at Rayburn Plaza. Their two-point program: Ban A- and H-bombs; deal directly with the Soviet Union to halt the arms race.

Delegates from student organizations throughout the New England area were registering for a three-day Student Peace Conference to be held on the Dartmouth campus beginning April 21. The keynote address would be made by Dr. Henry Cadbury, a Harvard Divinity School professor and national chairman of the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers).

In Chicago housewives and working women formed a Woman's Committee of the Chicago Labor Conference for Peace, appealed to women everywhere to form Peace Committees in their neighborhoods and communities.

THE HANDS REACH OUT: From Massachusetts and Iowa, two leading progressives had flown to a three-day Peace Congress at Melbourne, Australia, as delegates of the Provisional Committee of Americans for World Peace. They were Fred Stover, fighting president of the Iowa Farmers Union, and Rev. Joseph F. Fletcher, social ethics professor at the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. In the tightening cold-war atmosphere of Australia, where the Communist Party faces a legal ban at the hands of the new conservative government, 10,000 people gave a tumultuous reception to Britain's Dean of Canterbury who gave the opening address.

By this week preparations were well under way for what promises to be the nation's largest, most important peace gathering—the Mid-Century Conference for Peace, under the auspices of the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives, to be held in Chicago on May 29 and 30. Hundreds of sponsors,

comprising top names in educational, religious and professional circles, have signed the call, which states: "Attendance and participation is open to all who are concerned with the problem of peace in today's world." The committee's address: 158 W. 56th St., New York City 19.

EDUCATION

THE LORCH CASE

The professor was 'extreme'

TWO months after a faculty committee had recommended his promotion, Dr. Lee Lorch, professor of mathematics, was fired by New York's City College. The school gave no reason, but was upheld by the Board

LEE LORCH
The crime of brotherhood

of Higher Education. Friends of Lorch wondered whether he was fired because he had fought against discrimination in Stuyvesant Town, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.'s tax-exempt housing project. Lorch got a new job at Pennsylvania State College.

When he left for State College, Pa., last September, Lorch invited Mr. and Mrs. Hardine Hendrix and their five-year-old son to occupy his apartment in Stuyvesant Town. The Hendrixes are Negroes. This month the trustees of Penn State fired Lorch. Three of the trustees are agents for large insurance interests.

HELP WANTED: A. O. Morse, spokesman for the trustees, told Lorch that his invitation to the Hendrixes had been "extreme, illegal and immoral." He could save his job, Morse indicated, by throwing out the Hendrixes. Lorch refused.

The American Assn. of University Professors announced they would fight for Lorch's retention, and offered to mediate the issue. The school has ignored the offer.

In New York the American Labor Party's Paul L. Ross and James E. Allen, leaders with Lorch in the fight against Metropolitan's jimcrow, said the trustees' action was "an economic sanction against freedom of expression. . . . It is significant that Metropolitan Life should find allies on the board of trustees of this state-supported school, trustees whose financial interests directly parallel those of the landlord of a jimcrow community."

PROF. PHILLIPS

Danger! Free debate

IN the 16 months since he was fired by the University of Washington for being a Communist, many doors have been slammed in the face of philosophy professor Herbert J. Phillips as he toured the country to tell his story, explain what democracy means to him. This month two more were slammed.

At Wayne University, Detroit, president David D. Henry banned a scheduled debate between Phillips and Wayne history professor Alfred Kelly on whether a Communist should be allowed to teach at a U.S. university. The debate had been approved by the university's programs planning committee by a vote of 6 to 3.

The University of Michigan ruled that Phillips couldn't debate with business administration professor J. Phillip Wernette on "Communism vs. Capitalism." The faculty committee acted while most of Michigan's 20,000 students were away on vacation.

RELIGION

MELISH

Parishioners solid

DESPITE the opposition of 70% of the congregation, vestrymen of Holy Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church, Brooklyn, last year succeeded in ousting Rev. Dr. John Howard Melish and his son and assistant, Rev. William Howard Melish. The issue was the younger Melish's activity in the National Council of American Soviet Friendship. The vestrymen were upheld by Bishop James P. de Wolfe of Long Island, and the N. Y. State Supreme and Appellate courts.

Last week, 96% of the parishioners of Holy Trinity in their annual vestry elections voted four pro-Melish candidates into office. The vestry now stands 8 to 2 in favor of the Melishes—enough to reappoint them. Representatives of the old vestry did not present candidates.

Abraham Lawrence, a new vestryman and the first Negro elected to the post, said: "Some people talk the words of the Lord, but the Melishes work in the Lord's ways."

Have YOU done YOUR part?
SEE PAGE 3

PRESS

N. Y. TIMES

Cheaper by the lb.

THE courageous reader who slogged his way through the N. Y. Times editorial page of Sunday, April 9, would have been stopped by this unusual tidbit under the headline "A CORRECTION":

> In today's issue of the Book Review, in a review by Philip Toynbee of a book by Lionel Trilling, "The Liberal Imagination," there appears a reference to Roman Catholics that obviously should not have been made. Every reviewer has the right to express his opinion and that opinion is his rather than the opinion of the Times. The editor, however, has the responsibility to delete statements that are inaccurate or offensive. That responsibility should have been exercised in this case. Unfortunately it was not and the offending sentence was not detected until after the press run of the Book Section had been completed.

Toynbee's offending phrases were:

> We are all too familiar with the facile and vitriolic attacks on liberal and democratic culture made by Roman Catholics and members of the political right. Their furious partisanship, their tiresome love of paradox, has produced little criticism of importance.

Lester Markel, Sunday Editor of the Times, who makes frequent speeches about the responsibility of a free press in a democracy, is fond of giving his audience the weight (in pounds) of a particular issue of the Sunday Times.

The betting this week was that future issues of the Book Review, in the interest of a free press, would be lighter because of the absence of Mr. Toynbee.

SCIENCE

MIRACLE MOLD

To fill the larder

WORKING "in a world of dwindling resources and expanding populations," two U.S. scientists last week revealed a way to make hogs, chickens and turkeys grow twice as fast. Food would be more plentiful and less expensive.

Drs. E. L. Stokstad and T. H. Jukes speeded the growth of test animals by dropping 5 pounds of unpurified aureomycin (cost: $1.75) in a ton of animal feed. They made known their results at the annual meeting of the American Chemical Society in New York.

WHY NOT KIDS: If aureomycin can make hogs grow, it was said, perhaps it may help undernourished children to grow. It may also tell scientists something of how things grow. In that respect it would help the study of abnormal growths like cancer.

Aureomycin, a mold like penicillin, has been used up to now to fight virus pneumonia, whooping cough, Rocky Mountain spotted fever, parrot fever, typhus, amoebic dysentery and a wide variety of infections.

The big blow

IN New York, 82-year-old Robert A. Millikan, Nobel Prize-winning physicist, had a novel idea for combining hot air with propaganda. He suggested sending up balloons with leaflets attached, releasing them over France and allowing them to float over Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. He said it would give the people of those countries a true picture of the U.S.

NEW YORK

WANTED:

High-type politician

TAMMANY Hall was looking hard for a "high-type" politician above the district club-house level. If found, Democrats, Republicans, Liberals, the Mayor and the Governor would rally behind him to defeat Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.).

The American Labor Party said the coalition was made up of "puppets of the real estate interests and bankers who are out to kill rent control, to block low rent housing, to defeat FEPC legislation and to freeze the Taft-Hartley slave law on the books."

Murray Baron, Manhattan chairman of the Liberal Party, was gunning not only for Marcantonio, but also for Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.), one of the two Negroes in Congress. His complaint: Congressman Powell has earned "the endorsement of the Communist-dominated ALP." His cure: "We call upon Democrats, Republicans and independent voters to coalesce. . . ."

State of Welfare

WITH city relief rolls up to 345,000 Welfare Commissioner Raymond Hilliard announced that relief clients able to work will have to "earn" their pittance.

He estimated that only 4,000 or 5,000 would come under the "able" classification. These were to clean up garbage-littered lots; guard play streets, day centers, hospitals and abandoned piers; and help load surplus farm produce to be shipped from Long Island.

Hilliard offered free his own opinion of the unemployed: "A certain percentage," he said, "would rather get off relief than work.

GALLANT PRESS: While the city considered further relief cuts the newspapers featured a "timely" story about two spirited old ladies, sisters aged 70 and 74, who, after ten years on relief, sold the furniture in their skimpy apartment, sold handkerchiefs on the street and went to Europe to see their relatives, who paid part of their passage. They asked that the relief checks be forwarded, but officials declined.

Stranded in Europe, the sisters asked a U. S. consul to send them home. He did—and broke as ever, they applied for home relief on their arrival. The World-Telegram and Sun could not understand the spirit of the women in resisting efforts to send them to a flop house.

In other years the press assisted budget cuts by exposes of a mink-clad lady on relief staying in a hotel. The traveling ladies story of the 1950 season was a sorry choice because it came as taxpayers burned at the Mayor's shuttling between New York and Miami all winter long.

MORE FOR MAYOR

Nothing for workers

MAYOR O'Dwyer set a record for the first 90 days of his present term: half of them had been spent on vacations. Last week he returned from his latest ten-day fling in Florida just in time to meet an avalanche of 20,000 protest letters from indignant citizens. The biggest load of mail to City Hall in many years, it sent the Mayor backtracking on an order he made public the day he left town: political parties, he had ruled, would be barred from speaking at hearings on the proposed 1950-51 city budget.

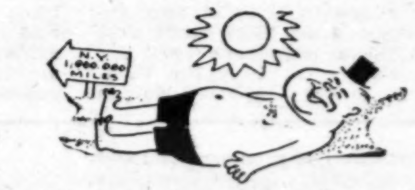
After reading his mail he rescinded the order; political parties would be heard after all.

But then he set off a new wave of protests. The United Public Workers, expelled from the CIO, and the Teachers Union, a UPW affiliate, were "political parties," he decided, and would be heard only under that classification.

Local showers

Defending his own pay raise to $40,000 a year, the Mayor said that "the best you can do is to earn enough money to provide your family with something for the rainy day when you leave this building."

The Mayor thought the rain must be



gentler away from City Hall. He insisted the city had no money to give raises to teachers or transit workers. He did not remember promising teachers $13,000,000 in increases during the campaign. Before the teachers were through with him he promised to "try to find" the money to pay their raises.

"RED" SCHOOLMARMS: The Teachers Union was embattled on another front. The Board of Education had up for adoption a resolution sponsored by Board member George A. Timone, Franco apologist and former Christian Front associate, under which it would refuse to "negotiate, confer or deal with or recognize" the union—on the ground that, having been expelled from the CIO, it was "communist-dominated."

At a public hearing on the measure more than 1,000 members and supporters of the union picketed the Board of Education headquarters, finally forced the Board to admit them to the hearing. Action on the resolution was postponed to April 27; the hearing lasted till nearly midnight.

The cancer is feudalism

The meaning of the pact between India and Pakistan

By Kumar Goshal

DURING the first week of April the Premiers of India and Pakistan held a long conference in New Delhi. Ostensibly they were seeking a solution to the violence that has flared up between the Hindus and Moslems in East and West Bengal. Actually there were reasons more compelling than the communal violence that has been erupting off and on ever since India was partitioned.

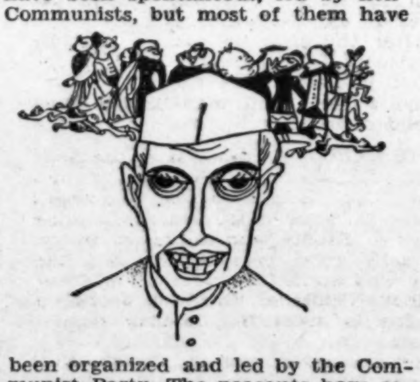
One reason why Jawaharlal Nehru and Liaquat Ali Khan got together was to try to find a way out of the cold war going on between the two dominions. India and Pakistan have been fighting an insane economic war over the division of water for irrigation purposes in northwest India; the relationship between the devalued Indian currency and the Pakistani currency which has not been devalued; and the settlement of compensation claims by refugees from the respective dominions. This has so increased the people's suffering that the majority have begun to doubt the stability of the governments in power. Another reason for the conference was the U. S. pressure on both governments to settle the dispute over the state of Kashmir.

But the context in which the conference must be judged is the peasant revolt that is spreading through both India and Pakistan.

TAKE THE RICE HOME: The revolt has taken on serious proportions especially in East Bengal in Pakistan and West Bengal in India. In many villages in Medinipur and in the districts of Hooghly and Twenty-four Parganas, for example, tenant farmers and hired hands on big estates, after harvesting the rice, have been carrying it to their homes instead of delivering it to the landlords.

Recently, peasants in 400 villages in the East Bengal district of Mymensingh defied the government-backed landlords, set up armed units of men and women to guard the rice crop they had taken possession of, and fought pitched battles with troops sent to rescue the crop.

Some of these peasant uprisings have been spontaneous, led by non-Communists, but most of them have



been organized and led by the Communist Party. The peasants have received their inspiration both from examples within India and from China.

HYDERABAD EXAMPLE: Telengana, in the state of Hyderabad, has furnished a rich source of inspiration to the peasants in the rest of India. Throughout the year 1947 the people of Telengana, under the leadership of the Communists and the more militant wing of the local Congress Party, fought against their landlords and the forces of the Nizam. Early in 1948, 4,000,000 peasants living in an area of over 13,000 square miles consolidated their victory and set up a popular government elected by adult franchise.

Despite the strenuous efforts of Indian government troops, this popular government has continued to function to this day. The army chief of Hyderabad admitted to a traveler who recently passed through Telengana that all the government hoped to do was prevent the revolt from spreading beyond Hyderabad. Nevertheless, Telengana has inspired peasant revolts in other parts of India.

FEUDALISM MUST GO: The Indian peasant has observed the growing similarity between the governments of India and Pakistan and the former Chiang Kai-shek government of China. He has found the so-called moderates and Socialists as ineffective in India as they were in China. In actual practice, he has found only the Communists standing uncompromisingly for his rights. His choice of Communist Party leadership in the struggle to better his lot has therefore been inevitable.

The first target must be a change in the land tenure system. Communal tension itself rises from the poverty of the peasantry, and the present governments—dominated as they are by landlords and the handful of big businessmen—are powerless to solve the agrarian problem. Hence nothing worthwhile can come out of the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Khan conference.

Even the New York Times correspondent admitted that the pronouncements made by the two Premiers are being viewed with skepticism by the people of India and Pakistan. The people are coming to realize, even if the governments do not, that no progress can be made until feudalism is completely eliminated from the entire sub-continent.

MIDWEST

ILLINOIS PROGRESSIVES

The fight is on

"IN Chicago and Illinois, the people now have nothing to show from the 1947 and 1948 elections but the broken promises of the two old parties. . . .The November elections of 1950 will provide no channels for expression of the needs of the people—unless the Progressive Party provides that channel."

With those words, 297 delegates to last weekend's Illinois Progressive Party convention in Chicago laid down their campaign challenge. Action began immediately with a statewide petition drive to put the party on the ballot. A minimum of 25,000 signatures is required, with 200 from each of 50 countries. Said William H. Miller, re-elected state PP director: "We'll get at least 100,000, with 400 from each of 70 counties."

(GUARDIAN's Rod Holmgren had disclosed earlier that the campaign would be boosted by the fact that the GUARDIAN now reaches into 252 Illinois communities in 78 counties.)

ORDOWER FOR SENATE: The Progressives chose Sidney L. Ordower, state legislative director, to run against Democratic Sen. Scott Lucas and his Republican rival, former Rep. Everett Dirksen. Other PP candidates are William E. Smith, United Electrical Workers officer, for State Treasurer; Octavia Hawkins, United Auto Workers, for Superintendent of Public Instruction; and Pearl Hart, civil rights attorney, for State Supreme Court Clerk.

The convention promised a strong fight to defeat Mayor Martin H. Kennelly next year. It also demanded that Gov. Adlai Stevenson call the State Assembly into special session to enact effective rent controls.

Curtis MacDougall, Northwestern University journalism professor, who was elected party chairman, keynoted the convention by saying: "We Progressives are Fairer Dealers than a great many. . . . We know that the only way to get . . . social security is by reducing the enormous cold war expenditures so that money will be available to save rather than end lives."

RENT CONTROL

State action —or 'chaos'

ILLINOIS Gov. Adlai Stevenson has until June 30, when federal rent controls end, to take action on standby legislation by the state legislature. The Progressive Party has long demanded a special session to enact a state control law.

Last week the demand was made by Chief Justice Edward Scheffler of the Chicago Municipal Court, who warned of "unreasonable and unconscionable rent increases and also many arbitrary evictions" if controls lapse. It was seconded by State Representative Edward J. McCabe (D-Chicago) who foresaw "chaos."

The Governor said only that he still hopes Congress will enact "some kind" of controls this spring. Meanwhile he would do nothing.

PEOPLE MUST ACT: To this Sidney Ordower, Illinois PP legislative director, said: "A murderous rent crisis is a dead certainty if Congress fails to renew controls. . . . Illinois tenants want

a standby state law which will give them protection regardless of what the Democratic Party sell-out artists do in Washington."

The Chicago Tenants Action Council has called a "Save Rent Control" conference for Saturday, May 13, at the Midland Hotel.

Max Werner

The obsession of German rearmament

GERMAN rearmament is on the agenda again with Winston Churchill its main advocate. After the conference of the Allied Chiefs of Staff at The Hague, some of our journalists made the belated discovery that the Atlantic Pact defenses exist only on paper. They see the only solution in the building of a German force that has to compensate for Western weakness.

Let us forget for a moment the moral and political objections. Let us consider the entire affair as a purely military job. The obvious error is the wrong premise that the West Germans are a warrior race permanently available for battle. The best thing to do in this case is to listen carefully to intelligent German militarists who know thoroughly the experience of the last war. Of them Gen. Franz Halder, former chief of the Wehrmacht, is the most competent witness.

ONE WHO KNOWS: In his book **Hitler as Commander in Chief,** Gen. Halder states first that the rout of the German army was an **absolute defeat** sapping the roots of Germany's potential military strength for good. He stresses that the German first-line, battle-tested divisions were burned out already before Stalingrad. What followed was annihilation of the German military power to the last reserve. In the east as in the west, the Wehrmacht was burned to ashes as no army in military history.

And Gen. Halder furthermore stresses the superiority of the Soviet army, both in material power and in the quality of warfare. He confesses without bias that the Wehrmacht was beaten in the east according to the best rules of modern strategy, was outfought and outmaneuvered while itself clinging to the outdated positional warfare.

With this sheet of balance and these conclusions, the better German generals must be cured of any design to start all over again. Yet paradoxically this time the Western minds, ignoring German warnings, are staking themselves on the beaten Wehrmacht. Here they commit an irreparable and inexcusable military error, since **any reckoning with a Germany military power must produce chaos in the allied planning.**

30? 90? 150?: The vagueness of the Atlantic defense concept is frightening. The usual calculation of the needs for Western defense amounts to an average of 30 divisions. Yet in the March issue of our leading military magazine, **The Military Review,** Lieut. Col. F. O. Miksche presents a completely different picture. In his opinion in case of war not 30 but 90 divisions would be needed in western Europe in six weeks, and 150 divisions in six months. The difference is staggering: 30 or 90 to 150 divisions?

The entire discussion with the arraying of non-existent divisions for a theoretical war belongs in the painful chapter of supreme political confusion. In Lieut. Col. Miksche's chart the majority—over two-thirds—of Western forces are to be provided by France, Italy and the Benelux countries: 107 from 150, with the U. S. and Britain offering less than one-third. The scheme is obviously artificial: can we imagine the French, the Italian and the Benelux armies, with their military record and their equipment, bearing the brunt of modern total war?

Probably aware of the shakiness of the scheme, Lieut. Col. Miksche still offers a solution: to add some 30 to 50 German divisions to the land forces of the Western coalition. He insists that without a West German army the defense of Western Europe is impossible.

FIGHTING WITH GHOSTS: Thus, according to his chart,

Lidove Noviny, Prague

about six-sevenths of the Atlantic Bloc forces will have to be supplied by the German, French, Italian and Benelux armies, the ghostlike array of the defeated and disintegrated armies of World War II. The project would be as realistic as if in the last war the Germans had decided to fight the Soviet and U. S. armies mainly with Italians, Romanians, Hungarians and Finns, with the sideshow participation of some 20 to 30 German divisions.

Here is an illustration how against all warnings of the German generals, the irrational belief in the German military recovery can blind military minds. The obsession is complete: the mirage of the German army is throwing out of the window the military, political, human, psychological realities of our time.

OBITUARY

Dr. Charles R. Drew
Dr. Carter G. Woodson
Moranda Smith

THE nation lost a great scientist, a great historian and a great leader of workers this month. All were Negro and the big press scarcely mentioned their passing.

Two men were: Dr. Charles Richard Drew, who developed the technique of preserving blood plasma; and Dr. Carter G. Woodson, winner of the 1926 Spingarn Award of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People as the outstanding Negro of the year. He was founder of the Assn. for the Study of Negro Life and History and of Negro History Week.

One was a woman: Moranda Smith, a member of the executive board of the Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers, a tobacco worker herself and a great-hearted builder of the R. J. Reynolds local of FTA at Winston-Salem, N. C., and a vice chairman of the Civil Rights Congress.

THE WORLD

FRANCE

Violence grows against anti-Nazis

NAZI SS leader Otto Skorzeny rescued Mussolini in 1943. In 1944 during the Battle of the Bulge he led a German unit, dressed in U.S. uniforms, behind the American lines on a mission to assassinate Gen. Eisenhower. The General survived Skorzeny's efforts; many GI's did not.

In September, 1947, Skorzeny stood before a U.S. military tribunal. His defense counsel, U. S. Col. Robert Durst, argued that his attempted assassination of Eisenhower was within the rules of war. He was acquitted.

After the trial he boasted that he carried in his wallet a picture of Col. Durst inscribed: "To Col. Otto Skorzeny, a wonderful man and a good friend of mine."

HAIL HERO: A month later the Sunday supplement of the U.S. Army's **Stars and Stripes** carried Skorzeny's story: "I Rescued Mussolini." In it he glorified Hitler "who impressed me as a really great personality," and had only kind words for his former SS Chief Heinrich Himmler. Skorzeny became a by-line in many U.S. Sunday supplements.

He was never tried for membership in the SS though he made no bones about it. The crime may be punished by death.

Rearrested by the Germans, Skorzeny fled to Argentina before his trial. Early this month he was reported enjoying springtime in Paris. He broke into print again when the rightist newspaper **Figaro** began publishing his memoirs.

"LIKE VOMITING": Outside **Figaro's** offices on the Avenue des Champs Elysees, angry men and women who had fought in the French resistance gathered when the memoirs appeared. More than 1,000 police, armed with clubs, charged the demonstrators. Sporadic fighting continued for hours. A woman eye-witness reported to the GUARDIAN:

"I witnessed the worst brutality I have ever seen from the police. A man fell a few yards from me, from a blow in the back and a kick in the belly. I felt like vomiting. When it was nearing the end, only the very young guys, young workmen, were facing the cops with unbelievable bravery. The only reason that kept me from running

away when I was there was the thought that my daughter won't have to go through this if we keep at it strongly enough. The papers said 'only the communist storm troopers were there.' They call me that!"

FRENCH MUNDT: The demonstration occurred as the 12th National Congress of the French Communist Party was drawing to a close. The congress issued a manifesto calling on workers to refuse to make or transport armaments. In the French Parliament 27 rightist deputies, many followers of De Gaulle, presented a resolution calling for the outlawing of the Communist Party. The C.P. is the largest single party in Parliament and won some 30% of the votes at the last national election.

In France the Atomic Energy Commission works for humanity

Following the recent statement by Frederic Joliot-Curie, French Atomic High Commissioner and a Communist, that no progressive scientist would give a scrap of his knowledge for war against the Soviet Union, the N. Y. Times wondered editorially if "Communists of Joliot-Curie's stripe" could not be "curbed." The true story about what the Times calls "France's dilemma"—that French scientists refuse to engage in atomic research for any purpose except peace—is summarized below.

By Stanley Karnow
GUARDIAN staff correspondent

PARIS

"WHAT, they don't make bombs?" Such is the usual startled comment of visitors to the French Atomic Energy Commission's laboratories, research centers, factories, and offices around Paris. France's atomic scientists, headed by 50-year-old Nobel Prize-winner Frédéric Joliot-Curie, are carefully following the neutral and constructive path to industrial and medical atomic achievement.

FREDERIC JOLIOT-CURIE
"Our stockholders are all citizens."

Nuclear research is not new to France. As far back as 1896 Henri Becquerel discovered radioactivity in uranium; two years later Pierre and Marie Curie found a natural nuclear fission in elements like radium and polonium. It was Joliot-Curie who in 1939, following the theories of German scientists Hahn and Strassmann, actually proved that a controlled nuclear fission could be harnessed to produce energy.

NO HYSTERIA: Interrupted by the war and the German occupation, French scientists like Lew Kowarski, Bertrand Goldschmidt, and Hans von Halban left for England, Canada and the U. S. to join Allied atomic research teams. Others, like Jean Perrin, Paul Langevin, and Joliot-Curie, remained in France to hide and protect the atomic materials accumulated during the years of study.

These scientists started almost from scratch after the liberation in 1945. Under Joliot-Curie's direction, France's Atomic Energy Commission recruited young, eager scientists—their average age is still below 30—and destined itself to be "an establishment of industrial research." No secrets, no loyalty checks, no hysterical military preparation.

"Our stockholders are all the citizens," said Joliot-Curie, "and we know we have to produce realities in exchange for the financial aid given by all of them." In reality the financial aid voted for atomic development last year amounted to slightly more than $15,000,000—100 times less than the sum spent annually in the U. S.

ZOE IS BORN: In December, 1948, almost exactly 50 years after Pierre and Marie Curie discovered radium, their heirs, Frédéric and Irene Joliot-Curie, threw the switch on France's first atomic pile at the Fort de Chatillon, near Paris. This experimental pile, nicknamed "Zoé," has an industrial potential of zero, but a new pile now being constructed at Saclay will actually have industrial application.

For France, Zoé—and stronger piles to come—symbolize future energy. Two pounds of uranium in a pile can create the same amount of power as that obtained from burning 3,000 tons of coal. France's monthly electricity consumption could be assured by a single truckload of uranium. Steamships, electric trains, and factories operated by nuclear fission are distinctly within the realm of possibility.

This new energy will liberate France from dependence on Germany for coal, thus changing the whole character of Western Europe's economic relations.

ON THEIR OWN: Likewise the pile frees France from dependence on the U. S. for artificial radioactive elements, which are of enormous importance for chemical and biological research. Buying isotopes overseas involved French atom scientists in various complicated "security" imbroglios, forced them to submit to rigid controls of their studies.

In another way France has freed herself from America's one-time atomic monopoly. In March, 1948, veins of uranium were discovered near the famous French porcelain-producing town of Limoges. Until then French scientists, unable to buy into U. S.-controlled stocks of the Belgian Congo, relied on rapidly-depleting supplies hidden during the occupation or scant amounts coming from Portugal.

Oddly enough, even the Belgians are prohibited from using their own uranium. Recently, when Belgian scientists requested some uranium for university study, U. S. authorities agreed to send them a few pounds. But when the cargo reached Antwerp, word from Washington ordered that the mineral remain aboard and proceed directly to the U. S.

SLOW BUT SURE: In France's atomic energy centers at present, radioactive sodium is being used to measure blood volume or determine capillary action. Other elements are being studied for uses as diverse as localizing cancer or determining solar effects on plants. Progress is slow and costly, but scientists are certain their theories will soon see everyday application.

Professional relations between France and the U. S. hardly exist on an official level. "We are taboo," one French Commission member explained simply. Publishing all their experimental results, the French sometimes puncture the barrage balloons of secrecy guarding U. S. atomic studies. When, for example, a group of French scientists published their discovery of tripartition of uranium in 1947, the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission was grumblingly obliged to declassify its own reports on the subject.

But "French science doesn't want to have anything to do with atomic research not for peace," said Joliot-Curie. "All our efforts are being utilized in the development of humanity."

The crisis deepens

(Continued from page 1)

in the S. F. Chronicle): "Russia HAS declared war. . . . We must have a great storehouse of devastating weapons . . . to destroy the industrial centers of the enemy." The paper went on: "The general pointed to Stalin's warning of a year ago that capitalism and communism could not co-exist in the same world." [This, GUARDIAN readers will recall, is exactly the opposite of what Stalin said.] In a reference to Harry Bridges, the crudity of which was astonishing even for an Air Force general, Eaker said: "Red, subversive rats should be grabbed . . . and I may say that a brave American jury and a great jurist has shown us how to do that!"

• Under the heading ECA SHIFT: BUTTER TO GUNS, **Business Week** had this to say in its April 8 issue: "A major shift in the nature of U. S. aid to Europe is in the making, [to build] military muscle for western Europe rather than economic muscle. . . . This is the backbone of the blueprint for 'total diplomacy' which will be presented to the Big Three Foreign Ministers next month. . . . This shift in the diplomatic wind will be justified on the assumption that war is almost inevitable within the next five years." To get its way in Congress, the Administration may be expected to "resort to phony war scares," says **Business Week**. (See A-Bomb hysteria, p. 5).

As "U. S. News and World Report" had already said on Feb. 17: "Armament always can be pushed if private [business] activity slows. War scares are easy to create, are nearly sure-fire producers of money for more and more arms."

The phony war scares and phony "red fifth-column" scares are on now. On the one hand, headlines scream "REDS FIRE ON U. S. PLANE" as our gallant cold-warriors send a plane where it has no business to go. On the other hand, the McCarthy circus takes the people's eye off the ball and warns what will happen to anyone trying to ease world tensions. Isn't the pattern clear?

ON April 6 George Wheeler, GUARDIAN correspondent and professor of economics and English in Prague, asked "asylum" from the Czech government for himself and family in protest against U. S. foreign and race-relations policies and, in particular, against the "brutal and unlawful treatment" by the U. S. Army of 58 Czechs taken against their will into the U. S. Zone of Germany. (See p. 4).

That good Americans (as we well know the Wheelers to be), whose work has placed them in a land trying to build a decent society out of the horror of the last war, should feel so strongly about America's current policies does not surprise us at all. We believe it was the privilege of the Wheelers to act as they have done.

But we would add this. In their future writing and speaking in Czechoslovakia the Wheelers can well serve the cause of peace by stressing the existence and activity of millions of decent Americans like themselves, who remain in America and fight for peace.

THAT there is still hope for peace — not a mere brave phrase, but solid hope — is acknowledged by those who speak for the great power of our land, American business.

On the one hand, the voices of business express more and more concern over the contradictions between the cold war and the fast-developing world trade war. On the other hand, they recognize that the voice of the people must be reckoned with. "Peace promise," said **U. S. News** on Mar. 3, "influences votes. 'Cold war' as a vote generator is a flop."

Wrote U. S. News editor David Lawrence in his daily syndicated column April 2: "The demand of the country is to find a way to peace. . . . The official 'line' is that it can't be done."

But it can be done. This is the great "IF" in the **Business Week** article quoted above: the switch from "butter to guns" will be made ". . . IF American opinion rallies behind the effort."

Guns are not, never have been, never will be the way to peace. The only way to peace is through abundance for all.

—THE EDITORS

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LIVING AND LEISURE

Washington Story

Government girl in a witch's brew

By John T. McManus

PERHAPS the last thing in the world you would expect to run across in your lending-library is a government-girl romance against a background of witch-hunt Washington.

Washington Story is a most eminent exception. From its smartly cut book jacket to its passionate climax it moves as fluently, romantically and intimately as the best of magazine serials or big box-office movies—with the significant dfference that the problems which beset the young working mother-heroine arise directly from witch-hunting among government employees under the President's "loyalty" program.

THE SETTING: The Faith Robles Vance of **Washington Story** is secretary and executive assistant to a government department head. She is maturely attractive, with shiny bronze skin and buckwheat hair from her Spanish-American parentage. Her husband, Thatcher, is a handsome ne'er-do-well from the Virginia mansion set. They have a small child.

Faith is an intelligent, well-read girl, a music lover, and in a non-attentive way a member of the United Public Workers. Between drunks, her husband is jealous of her physically and because of her finer talents and more consistent bread-winning.

SOME QUESTIONS: Arising from this domestic conflict is a situation which might be considered incredible if the ways of Washington witch-hunting were not so well known by now.

Suddenly Faith receives a "supeeny" at her office. She is to appear before a House committee on government employees. They have some questions to ask her about her associations.

Swiftly, then, it happens. Her union membership becomes "subversive." The bust on her piano is alleged to be not Mozart but Marx! She is called atheist, "Communist," her Spanish strain and her late father's pro-Loyalist sympathies become her crime. She is "interested" in a foreign power; furthermore, can she prove that she is a citizen and not an alien?

STORMY WEATHER: A young lawyer, Dane Chandler, undertakes to steer Faith through this avalanche of lies and accusations but even with logic and the law on their side, the storm is too much for them.

The ending?

Actually it ends with the fight still going on, against seemingly hopeless odds. But only in slick-magazine and movie fiction can a pretty girl and a lawyer lover withstand the tide of malice and injustice—and **Washington Story** is really fiction in name only: in truth it is the grimmest and most heart-tearing of real life calamities in America today.

So the ending, dear reader, is really up to you.

A WASHINGTON STORY, by Jay Deiss. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. $3.

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THE CAMERA LOOKS AT LIFE

A photograph by Walter Rosenblum, vice-president of the Photo League, of a slice of American Life on New York's Pitt St.

The Photo League

Pictures to make a prettier world

CLICKING camera shutters the world over are constantly recording tiny segments of life—for amusement, remembrance, sensation, profit or the development of photographic art.

Of the hosts of people taking pictures, few consciously use photography as an instrument for creating a better world. But where photographers see an opportunity to use their art as such a weapon, they can be extremely effective. One group of this kind is the Photo League, which has headquarters at 23 E. 10th St., N. Y.

The League was born in depression days, when U.S. photography began an exciting documentation of human struggle and insecurity in a nation which could not assure millions of people a decent standard of life. Many Photo League members were prominent in the valuable projects undertaken by the New Deal's Farm Security Administration. These government photographs provide today an unmatched collection depicting the realities of America.

CONTENT IS THE THING: As the Photo League grew, it became a model for the organization of photographers—amateurs and professionals—who believe that social content and progressive ideas can be expressed in pictures. Classes were inaugurated, with top-notch photographers and editors as instructors. A magazine, **Photo Notes**, was published, with critical commentaries, reviews of exhibitions and new films, articles on new techniques and equipment.

The League's members fought for the things they believed in. When the FSA projects were attacked in Congress, the Photo League defended them valiantly. Its photographers have played active roles in combatting hysteria, in aiding the Spanish Republicans and democratic groups elsewhere, in recording the life and problems of the American people.

THE MARK OF HONOR: It was not illogical that the League landed on the U.S. Attorney General's list of "subversive" organizations. Its members have stood up well to attack and wear the listing almost as a badge of honor.

In its early days the League acquired a board of directors with people of the caliber of Paul Strand, Margaret Bourke-White, Berenice Abbott and Beaumont Newhall. Today the roster has grown and the organization is looking toward new photographic achievements in the betterment of America.

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Two for the show

How to raise money with 16mm. films

By Philip M. Roberts

LONG before subversive lists were created it was common knowledge that you could tell a progressive organization by the amount of red in its accounts. To relieve that condition there have been devised numerous fund-raising techniques, one of which is film showings.

To make money with movies you need: one well-ventilated room, chairs, AC current, a projector, a screen, a projectionist, lots of volunteer help, cash customers (hereinafter called "the audience") and the films.

The audience will come to the movie only if the program is interesting and well publicized, the place convenient and/or attractive, and the price reasonable. All this takes money.

THE PREPARATIONS: Your local 16mm. film library and national 16mm. distributors will provide a guide to film subjects, running time and price, and teach you how to be an audio-visual education expert.

In choosing the movie consider timeliness, entertainment value and the special interests of your audience. Generally groups like GUARDIAN clubs in communities with a potential progressive audience can count on such feature-length films as **Native Land, The Wave, Without Prejudice,** and **The Roosevelt Story.** To any of these add a short like **Life With Baby, 1848, Steps of the Ballet, Life at the Zoo, Hymn of the Nations, The Loon's Necklace,** or any of the shorter Chaplins and your program should be sure-fire. I repeat, should be.

(As an example, a New York neighborhood group raising funds for pending civil rights defenses has taken over the Provincetown Playhouse, 133 MacDougal St., for a children's matinee April 22 of an all-Chaplin program. The price: 65c including tax, with shows at 11:30 a.m. and 1 and 3 p.m.)

TRIPLE THREAT: In deciding the price of admission, plan to cover your expenses with one-third of your audience potential. If your seating capacity is limited, double or triple it by running additional showings. Remember, all admissions are subject to 20% federal amusement tax.

Promotion should begin three weeks before the showing. Compile a mailing list (personal friends, members of other organizations, and your own membership). If an artist is available, have him work out a mailing piece and mark it "Labor Donated." Otherwise have your local mimeograph service turn one out, but be sure it has a union label. A postcard will also serve.

The mailer should reach your audience a week before your showing. A small classified ad should appear in the local newspaper and the GUARDIAN a full week before. Early in the week of the showing, send press releases to the entertainment or events editors of your local newspapers. Where a program may appeal to a special group, include its press in your coverage. Another postcard reminder will have good effects, and another classified announcement the day before and the day of the showing should clinch it. One warning: before embarking on any publicity campaign, work out a budget that does not rely on future profits, then stick to it.

THE BIG MOMENT: Comes the big night. Before opening, check the seating arrangements, the table for the cashier, the stand for the projector, the locations of light switches and electrical outlets. In warm weather ventilation should be adjusted well in advance.

The film should arrive in time for the projectionist to get ready before customers flock in. The cashier should have enough change. Someone should be stationed at the light switches . . . Ready? Lights off . . . Projector on . . . Sound up!

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In a foreword to the Polish film Border Street, Quentin Reynolds says: "This is a story of people who lived in Warsaw. . . . They had the dreams that all free people dream. It's easy for tyrants to kill the bodies of men: it is more difficult for them to kill the dreams of men." April 26, when the picture opens at New York's Little Cinemet, is the seventh anniversary of the Battle of the Warsaw Ghetto. Of the picture GUARDIAN reviewer Mary Williamson says: "Through the story of five children it tells us the history of a country under fascism; how some welcome the intruders and perish anyway, how others try to escape but find it impossible, and most important, how a nation learns to pull together and fight back."

CALENDAR

New York

APRIL SHOWERS BARGAIN BAZAAR. ALP 1st A.D., 28 Greenwich Av., near 10th St. Fri., April 21, 7-11 p.m.; Sat., April 22, 11 a.m.-11 p.m.; Sun., April 23, 2-10 p.m.

CHARLIE CHAPLIN FESTIVAL: The Rink, Easy Street, The Immigrant, Laughing Gas, Hits of the Past plus short feature. Sat., April 22, 11:30 a.m.; 1 p.m; 3 p.m. Provincetown Playhouse, 133 MacDougal St. Adm. 65c (incl. tax).

WARSAW GHETTO MEMORIAL RALLIES sponsored by B'klyn ALP. Speakers: Polish Ambassador Joseph Winiewicz, Rep. Emmanuel Celler, Cantor Moishe Oysher, B. Z. Goldberg, Terry Rosenbaum. Climax of county-wide ALP campaign for end of re-nazification of Germany, stoppage of arms to Arab nations. Thurs., April 27, 8 p.m., Parkway Theatre, Brownsville; also Hi Ho Casino, Brighton Beach.

SPECIAL PERFORMANCE of "John Brown," new play by distinguished author Theodore Ward. Party for Mr. Ward to follow, audience invited. At People's Drama's new theatre, 212 Eldridge St. Fri., April 28, 8:30 p.m. Write Comm. for the Negro in the Arts, 77 Fifth Av., New York 3. GR 3-5940.

COUNTY FAIR: May 19, 20, 21, at 12 Astor Place. Arts and crafts, games, dancing, clowns, races, contests. 3-day pass, 50c. For information call MU 4-0520.

Philadelphia

PROGRESSIVE FORUM — SPRING SERIES. Academy of Music Foyer, Broad and Locust Sts., Sun. eve., April 23, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois speaks on "Freedom." Sun. eve., April 30, Albert E. Kahn speaks on "High Treason." Adm. 75c.

Chicago

JAMES J. CHERRY speaks on "Crime Prevention," auspices Swedish Educational League, Friday, April 21, 8:15 p.m., I. O. G. T. Hall, 1041 Newport Av. Adm. 50c.

WORLD THEATRE ARTS ASSN. presents "The Roosevelt Story" plus "Tall Tales with Burl Ives," Sat., April 22, 8:30 p.m. "Native Land" plus "The Immigrant" and "Kenneth Spencer Sings," Sat., April 29, 8:30 p.m. Each performance $1 (incl. tax), 218 S. Wabash, 9th floor, WE 9-7265.

NIGHT IN GAY PARIS. Come to the Champs Elysees with UOPWA Local 39, Sat., April 22, People's Auditorium, 2457 W. Chicago. Donation $1. Proceeds Union Fighting Fund.

1950 IMPRESSIONS OF EUROPE. Boris Steinberg with interesting notes and movies on his trip. Sat., April 22, 8:30 p.m. 39th-40th Wards Progressive Party. Naiman's, 5140 N. Central Park. Refreshments.

PAUL ROBESON SINGS. Sun., April 23, 2:30 p.m. Orchestra Hall. Club Metros Dancers, Jewish People's Choral Society, Federal Laredef Glee Club. JPFO 20th Jubilee. Tickets 90c, $1.25, $1.85, $2.50. 64 W. Randolph St., AN 3-266-.

FORUM NO. 4. Sponsored by Modern Book Store. Sunday, April 23, 8 p.m. Two great Soviet films: "Chapayev" and "The Lower Depths." Woodrow Wilson Room, 116 S. Michigan Av. Adm. 60c.

Listings in this section are available at 40c a line (six words); minimum charge $2 per insertion. Copy deadline one week before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Calendar, National Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

ENTERTAINMENT FOR CHILDREN. "Sampan Family" plus selected shorts. Sun., April 23, 2:30 p.m. "Rumpelstilskin," "Woody Woodpecker" plus added attraction "Sleeping Beauty," presented by Children's Creative Theatre School. April 30, 2:30 p.m. Each perf: children 35c; adults 65c (incl. tax). World Theatre Arts Assn., 218 S. Wabash. 9th floor. WE 9-7265.

HEAR BORIS STEINBERG; see his movies of Europe. Just back from France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Poland. Supper, refreshment, all for $1. Sat., April 29, 9 p.m. Dr. Welcher, 3816 Wrightwood. 35th Ward Progressive Party.

DRAMATIC! UNUSUAL! POSITIVELY ATOMIC! Come to this diamond-studded program Wed., May 3, 8 p.m., at the Midland Hotel, sponsored by Chi. Council of Arts, Sciences & Professions. See how the H-Bomb affects your life as presented in "Humanity vs. The H-Bomb," powerful ballad-drama written in living newspaper style, starring well-known Chicagoans. Hear dynamic talks by Dr. Oliver Loud, nationally-known physicist; Dr. Robert Havinghurst, eminent educator; Dr. Eustis Hayden, Chi. Ethical Society; Willard Motley, outstanding writer; Mrs. Ollie Clark, fighter against discrimination; Maurice Travis, prominent labor leader; Dr. John J. DeBoer, well-known educator. Join the protest against the threat of atomic terror and death. Adm. $1.20.

FOND OF GOOD MUSIC? Come to a MUSICALE. Sat., May 6, 8 p.m., at William Rose's, 914 W. Ainslie. Violinist and singer. Donation $1. 48th Ward Progressive Party.

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Madison, Wisc.

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—Headline on Mark Sullivan column

SULLIVAN Mark grows sere and mellow;
I half wonder what's come over the fellow.
Time was when Mark allowed no schism
But warned of the whole of socialism:
Reds were reds and pinks were reds,
Not semi-goblins under beds.
F. D. R. was a full dictator
And Mark was an overtime progress hater.
His paper enemies dropped like flies
And Republicans swaggered around king-size.
Old Mark is slipping: he's gone half human
From counting the perils of Harry Truman;
That something-lacking semi-red
Is half in and half under Old Mark's bed.

—JAMES DUGAN

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DOLLAR STRETCHER

Prices of men's shirts cut

DESPITE the recent rise in the cost of piece goods, retailers are slashing prices on men's shirts. There just isn't any retail demand. The situation is a harbinger of a new recession developing in the clothing and textile industries. Meanwhile it's producing buying opportunities for consumers.

One New York shop specializing in shirts is offering sizable reductions, available out of town by mail. The Concord Shirt Co., 1133 Broadway, sells Sanforized broadcloth shirts at three for $7.50 (plus 25c for mail orders on three). These are 136x60 quality (the number of threads to the square inch of material), and come with spread or pointed collars, with stays. Colors are white, gray, tan, green and blue, all solids.

Concord also has fine-quality 2x2 white broadcloth shirts, or end-on-end woven pima-cloth shirts with French cuffs and front, or plain center, at $11.25 for three, plus postage of 25c. These are $5 or more in many stores. The end-on-end shirts come in blue, gray or wine.

Nylon shirts are available here at $6.75 (plus 15c for mail orders) as compared to the standard $8.75 retail price. A nylon shirt even at $6.75 is not necessarily a bargain unless you need its particular advantages. If you're seeking to cut laundry costs, the nylons are easy enough to do at home. They're also useful for travel since they wash and dry quickly.

Zenith FM sets at cut prices

THE FM set generally recommended by radio engineers is the Zenith Major, a table model which lists at $39.95. It's not always easy to find at a discount, but at least one furniture dealer, Household Mart, 157 St. Nicholas Av., Brooklyn, offers 25% off. That brings the set down to $29.96 (plus $1 for mail orders and 2% sales tax on New York City deliveries). The Major is FM only. Zenith also makes a table model which receives both AM and FM broadcasts for $49.95. Household Mart's discount brings this down to $37.47.

Most other radios are now widely available at discounts, since manufacturers are requiring that retailers buy them to get their quota of television sets.

Private-brand steam irons

FROM time to time this department has reported on private brands sold by large mail-order houses and department stores at lower prices than the same products under their nationally advertised names. It has been learned that the steam iron sold by Montgomery Ward for $14.45 is made by and is identical to the more expensive Casco, and the Sears Roebuck iron is the Steam-O-Matic, which sells under its own name for $19.95.

Both are considered good makes but not as efficient as the GE steam iron. The GE is not available under a private brand but can be secured from discount houses at 20% (and sometimes more) off its list price of $17.95.

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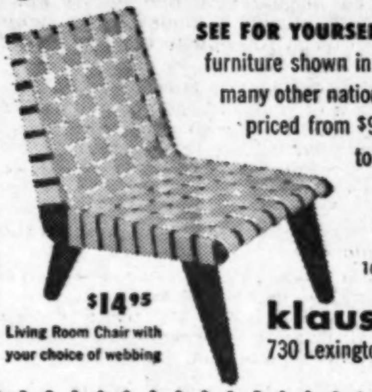

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WARNING!

Issue by issue since its birth in the fall of '48, NATIONAL GUARDIAN has spotlighted the assaults on the freedoms of the American people on a hundred fronts. Now at the hour of America's greatest peril and most urgent need for understanding, the whole monstrous pattern of the plot against the people has been assembled in a book shortly to be published, titled:

HIGH TREASON

Written by Albert E. Kahn, author of the eye-opening best-sellers **The Great Conspiracy and Sabotage**, **High Treason** will shock even the best-informed with its dramatic, thoroughly documented revelations of the anti-democratic conspiracy during the past three decades. It bluntly names the powerful men in the highest places conspiring to frustrate the democratic advances of the American people. It puts under a bright light the same hidden forces behind the Palmer Raids of the Twenties, the Witch Hunts of today and the Cold War hysteria. **High Treason** reads like a lurid thriller—yet its facts are incontrovertible.

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1 By special arrangement with Lear Publishers the GUARDIAN is now able to offer its readers a People's Edition—the complete 384-page book—for only $1.00 postpaid anywhere in the world (a cloth-bound library edition at $3.00 is also available).

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Place your orders for HIGH TREASON NOW. Deliveries will begin on or about May 1. Remittance must accompany all orders. HIGH TREASON is every progressive's arsenal of facts to fight with. Pass the ammunition!

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Have YOU done YOUR part? SEE PAGE 3

He'd rather be wrong AND President

Exploding the myth about 'Honest Bob' Taft

By Irving Richter
GUARDIAN Special Correspondent

CLEVELAND, OHIO

CHAIN letters soliciting dollar bills for the re-election of Sen. Robert Alphonso Taft of Ohio are being circulated throughout the U.S. Contributors are considered members of what the letters' sponsors call the "Disaster Panel." The pitch: "If you value your own and your family's stake in the present struggle against complete surrender to socialism—if not eventual communism—you will be glad to do your bit. . . ."

To many the Disaster Panel will seem aptly named: they would regard the Senator's return to Congress as a major catastrophe. Few men in public life have been more consistently wrong on more issues.

UP THE FAMILY TREE: Taft is perhaps the nearest thing there is to an American aristocrat. By birth, background and present wealth he is as far from the people as a man can get. He once said: "I don't need a subsidy to buy my meals."

Ferdinand Lundberg listed the Tafts as one of "America's 60 Families" in his book of that name and estimated the family fortune at $20,000,000 in 1936.

The Senator's own law firm, Taft, Stettinius and Hollister, founded in 1923, does a highly lucrative corporation law practice and numbers among its clients the Pennsylvania R. R., Gruen Watch Co., the Norfolk and Western R. R., New York Casualty Co., General Machinery Co., and several banks, traction companies and industrial firms in Ohio. Taft is also a director of the Central Trust Co.

LOYAL TO MORGAN: Robert's uncle Henry is a member of the law firm of Cadwalader, Wickersham and Taft in New York City, which ties the family up with the J. P. Morgan interests. Through this firm the family has a hand in the National Cash Register Co., the Niles Bement Pond Co., American Rolling Mill Co., several raw sugar companies, and the National City Bank of N.Y., and spreads out into United Aircraft, Chrysler, Aetna Life Insurance, Cleveland Cliffs Iron, Swift's, Republic Steel and the Charleston Shipbuilding and Drydock Co.

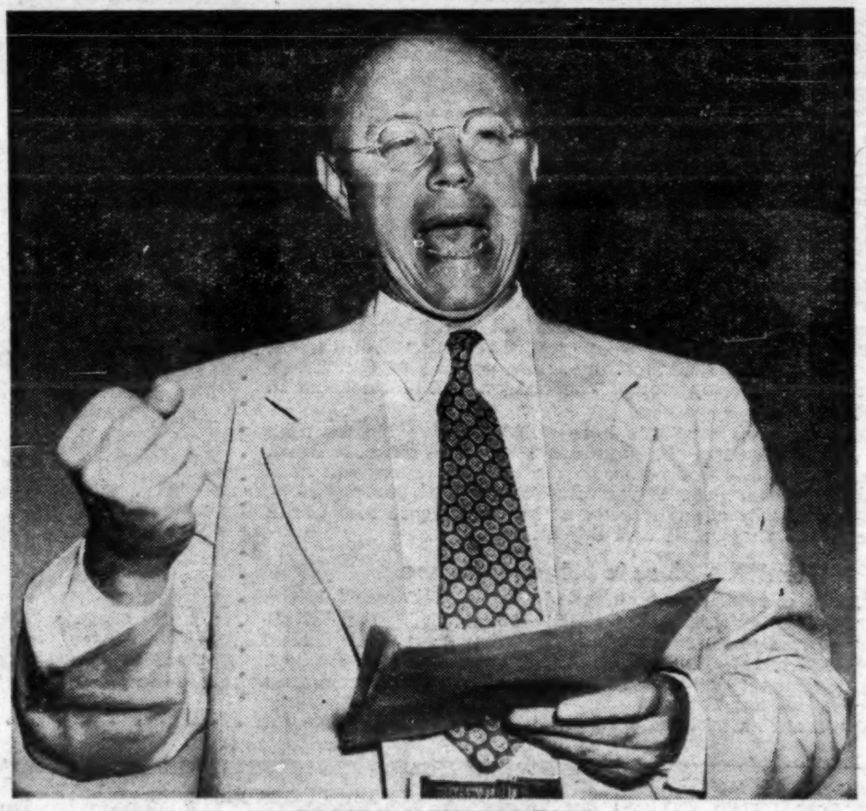
When Robert A. Taft drafted the hyphenated labor law that bears his

name, he was doing no more and no less than representing the interests of his clients in the Congress of the U.S.

FOOD IS SO VULGAR: His career in the Senate, to which he was elected in 1938, has won him a reputation for rugged honesty, integrity and high courage in supporting unpopular measures. The reputation is partly deserved: he has consistently followed his own convictions. But his convictions have nothing in common with those of the man who works in a shop, pays rent in a tenement, or stands in line to apply for unemployment compensation. For these he has blunt advice: "Eat less."

His reputation for honesty will not survive careful examination. He once charged that the Taft-Hartley veto message was written by Lee Pressman, then general counsel of the CIO. When he was challenged by Sens. Pepper and Murray, he publicly apologized on the Senate floor: "I wish to correct that statement . . . I am sorry I made the mistake." But the charge had already made the front pages of most U.S. newspapers. And Taft himself later repeated it.

BRILLIANTLY WRONG: In his youth Taft was a brilliant student. He always



ROBERT ALPHONSO TAFT
I can pay for my own meals

stood first in his class and was one of the bright lights of the Harvard Law School. Of the much-touted intellectual powers of this dry, cold, colorless and humorless man, the **New Yorker** once said: "Taft has the best mind in the Senate until he makes it up." Another commentator said of him: "He has reached more wrong decisions more ably" than anybody else.

How wrong can he get? Here are some indications from the period just before World War II, when he was a leading isolationist and favored speaker at America First rallies:

- **Feb. 16, 1941:** "It is simply fantastic to suppose there is any danger of an attack on the United States by Japan."
- **Feb. 22, 1941:** "An invasion of the U.S. by the German army is as fantastic as would be the invasion of Germany . . . by an American army and as unlikely to be undertaken."
- **Sept. 22, 1941** (Pearl Harbor was little more than two months away): "There is much less danger to this country . . . today than there was two years ago; certainly much less than there was one year ago."

GOOD OLD ADOLF: During the war, when he was constantly and approvingly quoted by Nazi propaganda organs, he publicly condemned the government's indictment of the 33 persons accused of sedition. When the Nazis attacked Russia he said on the Senate floor that it would be much better for Germany to win. After the war, in October, 1946, he deplored the death sentences for Nazi war criminals and denounced the Nuremberg trials as a "miscarriage of justice."

He opposed the Potsdam agreement because its proposed treatment of German industry was in his eyes too harsh. Since then he has grudgingly approved some loans to Europe, not to relieve hunger, but because "these things might help to maintain the political status quo."

DON'T REGIMENT ME! The Senator has acquired some fame as an opponent of "regimentation," but it is simply a matter of who is to be regimented. During the war he had no hesitation in leading the fight against the soldier vote, and he himself was father of the ban on "political" material for U.S. troops.

The application of that law was such blatant regimentation—under it the armed forces could not see such movies as **Wilson** or read such books as the **Biography of Oliver Wendell Holmes**—that it had to be scrapped. And, of course, regimentation of labor under the Taft-Hartley Law has reached extremes never before known in the U.S.

Taft is also famed as one of the loudest exponents of free enterprise. His current slogans for re-election are directed against what he calls socialism and the hand-out state. But in 1944 he fathered a bill that would have set up a government agency to guarantee that businessmen would be "protected and assisted in some degree by federal legislation" against losses from investment in new business.

FREEDOM FOR SLUM-OWNERS: His name on the Wagner-Ellender-Taft housing bill has lent him a small aura of liberalism. But he stalled for nearly

seven weeks before he agreed to co-sponsor it, and his conditions were harsh: watered out of it were provisions for a unified national housing agency, adequate financial aid to co-ops, and research on industrial housing. In it was a provision for federal subsidies to bail out slum-owners—among them the Taft family, which has extensive real estate holdings in Cincinnati.

When Taft belabors the hand-out state, it is again a question of who gets the handout. But Taft is not the first man to confuse his pocketbook with patriotism.

LUNCH AT THE CLUB: The Senator likes to present himself as a man above racial prejudices. But he knows how to make skillful use of them. In 1943, when most southern senators were in favor of the Federal Aid to Education bill, he addressed them directly on the Senate floor: "Once the government goes into the question of white and colored schools, we will never stop. We will go on until we require every state to permit white and colored children to go to the same schools as we do in Ohio."

In 1944 he sponsored an FEPC bill lacking any power of enforcement. Asked how a recalcitrant employer could be controlled, he said: "Well, the better element could bring him into line. . . . They might talk to him over lunch at the country club."

When one of the worst bigots in the Senate—Kenneth McKellar, Democrat, of Tennessee—faced possible defeat in a primary fight, Taft gave him a lift with a friendly letter which McKellar used as an endorsement. Later Taft teamed up with McKellar in the 1947 ten-week smear campaign designed to prove that David Lilienthal, then head of the Atomic Energy Commission, was a red.

LOVE THOSE DIXIECRATS: Taft was one of the top GOP strategists who constructed the Republican-Dixiecrat teamwork in Congress. The alliance took on real form shortly after the 1944 elections. At that time New York's Gov. Dewey proposed a 20-page set of "hard and fast principles" to guide Republicans in Congress. Taft and others rejected it because, according to **Life** magazine at the time, it "would prevent Republicans in Congress from working with conservative Democrats on coalition bills designed to head off New Deal legislation."

One of Senator Taft's greatest single feats in postwar years was the result of efforts he began even before the war was over: the destruction of OPA and price controls. He did more than any other single man in Congress to remove the lid on the cost of living.

ASHCAN WANTED: Currently the man from Ohio, whose goal is the White House, is campaigning against every measure that might remotely benefit the people. As he sees it, the Full Employment Bill "came directly from the Soviet Constitution, the Communist platform and the CIO"; the Emergency Unemployment Compensation Bill "would give left-wing labor control of employment; the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Health Bill is "a left-wing, Communist proposal."

Late in 1947 Col. Robert R. McCormick's Chicago **Tribune** rated him No. 1 for the Presidency: "An American right in there on the firing line." To one citizen he appears as "a true-born Christian American." That tribute came from America's distinguished merchant of hate, Gerald L. K. Smith.

Which makes Taft's defeat in 1950 a No. 1 job for progressives.

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